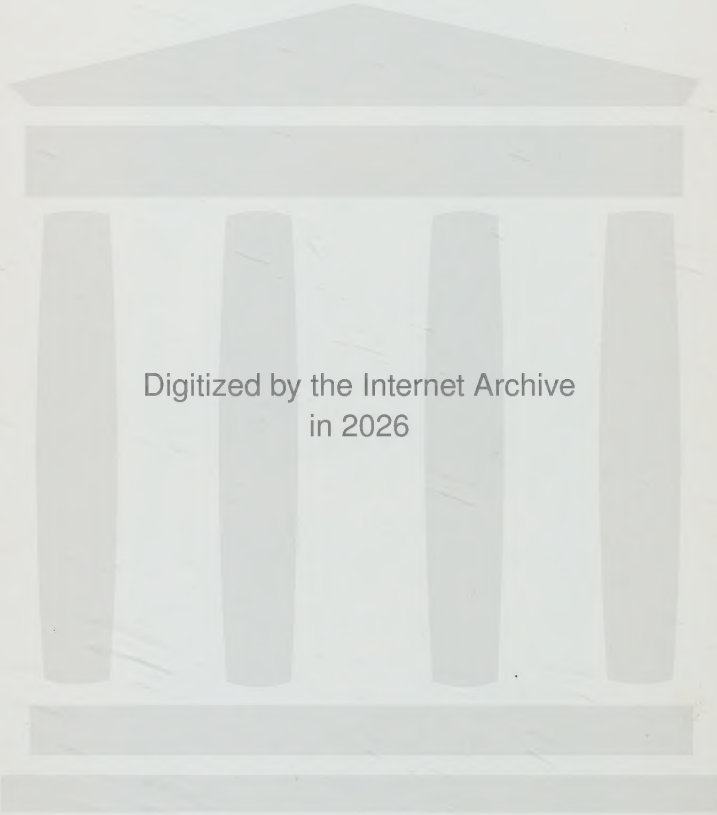


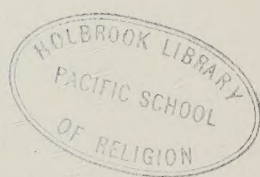


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Rabbi Irwin Reichert

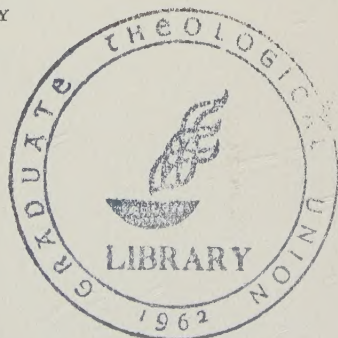


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OF THE
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NUMBER 35



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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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(Term expiring with the 42nd Annual Meeting.)

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DR. CYRUS ADLER, Philadelphia, Pa.,

ex-officio, as Past President of the Society.

PREFACE.

The preparation and editing of the present volume of the *Publications* were entrusted to the following Committee on Publication: Albert M. Friedenberg, Chairman; Prof. Alexander Marx and Edward D. Coleman. Through the indisposition of the Chairman the active work of editing the volume and seeing it through the press fell to the share of Mr. Coleman. The Chairman had a nominal share in the preparation of this volume. The inclusion herein of the bibliography of his writings was not voted upon by him. The Chairman thanks Prof. Marx and especially Mr. Coleman, his colleagues, for carrying on his share of the Committee's work. As stated, the laboring oar was borne by Mr. Coleman, who also prepared the Index.

The papers in this volume emanate mostly from the forty-first annual meeting of the Society.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

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FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

The forty-first annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held in the auditorium of the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, in the city of Philadelphia, in the afternoon and in the evening of December 30, 1937. The president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, was in the chair and the recording secretary, Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, acted as the secretary of the meeting. The president's annual address was presented at the evening session. It was printed, under the title "Religious liberty and the Constitution," in the *Jewish Exponent*, Philadelphia, v. 101, Jan. 7, 1938, p. 1, 12.

The officers presented their annual reports. The following was submitted by Albert M. Friedenberg, corresponding secretary:

To the American Jewish Historical Society:

My report as corresponding secretary covers the period from October 27, 1935, when our 40th annual meeting took place, to the date hereof. I desire at the outset to express my hearty thanks to our indefatigable librarian, Edward D. Coleman, for his splendid cooperation and helpfulness, especially appreciated by me under the conditions under which I have been laboring for some months past.

On October 27, 1935, our Society numbered 267 members, 23 corresponding and 244 patron, life and regular members. Since then 3 corresponding and 15 regular members died, 2 regular members resigned and 5 such were dropped. On the other hand 2 regular members were restored and 24 new life and regular members were duly elected. Accordingly, to-day, the Society has 20 corresponding and 248 patron, life, and regular members, a total of 268 members of all classes.

The following members died during the period of this report: David Rosenbaum; Sidney P. Hessel; Peter Wiernik, author of a history of the Jews in America, which passed through two editions; Arthur Lehman; Richard J. H. Gottheil, one of the vice-presidents; Jesse Isidor Straus, who served acceptably as his country's ambassador in Paris; Andrew Kaas; Simon W. Rosendale, one of the vice-presidents, of whom a necrology will be presented to the 41st annual

meeting of the Society; Frederick Spiegelberg; Justus Oesterlein; John Franklin Jameson, a corresponding member; Maurice J. Freiberg; Henry Wallenstein; Felix M. Warburg; Henry Pereira Mendes; Frank Cundall, and Wilberforce Eames, both corresponding members.

The curator, Leon Huhner, submitted his report. As treasurer, Mr. Hendricks, presented his reports for the fiscal years, October 1, 1935 to October 1, 1936, and October 1, 1936 to October 1, 1937, as follows:

OCTOBER 1, 1935—OCTOBER 1, 1936.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Dues	\$1,180.00
Sales of Publications, etc.....	234.21
Special Contributions:	
Morris Wolf	\$250.00
Friend of Max J. Kohler, deceased.....	100.00
A. S. W. Rosenbach.....	250.00
Henry S. Hendricks.....	100.00
	700.00
Baron de Hirsch Fund, refund of cost of rebinding late Adolphus S. Solomons' scrap books....	42.00
Treasurer of United States, refund of custom duty	.75
Interest on bank account in National Savings Bank of Albany.....	.17
Balance due Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	2,484.49
	\$4,641.62

EXPENDITURES.

Balance due Treasurer October 1, 1935.....	\$2,565.01
Disbursements, Corresponding Secretary's Office..	25.00
Salary and expenses of of Librarian.....	1,857.32
Printing re 40th Annual Meeting.....	28.05
Miscellaneous services and supplies for Library...	94.14
Postage and envelopes for Treasurer.....	30.00
Binding four volumes Adolphus S. Solomons, deceased, scrap books.....	42.00
Exchange on check.....	.10
	\$4,641.62

EQUIPMENT FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1935.....	\$1,166.55	
No receipts		————— \$1,166.55

EXPENDITURES.

No expenditures	
Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	\$1,166.55

RESEARCH FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1935.....	\$1,507.21	
No receipts		————— \$1,507.21

EXPENDITURES.

No expenditures	
Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	\$1,507.21

ABRAHAM ERLANGER FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1935.....	\$2,613.42	
Interest	55.96	
		————— \$2,669.38

EXPENDITURES.

No expenditures	
Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	\$2,669.38

HELEN C. ROSENDALE MEMORIAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1935.....	\$1,369.98	
Interest	29.32	
		————— \$1,399.30

EXPENDITURES.

No expenditures	
Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	\$1,399.30

STATEMENT OF CASH ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY,
OCTOBER 1, 1936.

Balances with Treasurer October 1, 1936:	
Equipment Fund	\$1,166.55
Research Fund	1,507.21
Abraham Erlanger Fund.....	2,669.38
Helen C. Rosendale Memorial Fund.....	1,399.30
	\$6,742.44
<i>Less.</i>	
Balance due Treasurer October 1, 1936:	
General Fund	\$2,484.49
	\$4,257.95

OCTOBER 1, 1936—OCTOBER 1, 1937.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Dues	\$1,375.00
Sales of Publications, etc.....	120.00
Special Contributions:	
N. Taylor Phillips.....	\$100.00
Louis Bamberger	100.00
A. S. W. Rosenbach.....	50.00
Henry S. Hendricks.....	50.00
Howard L. Goodhart.....	25.00
	325.00
Advance:	
A. S. W. Rosenbach.....	150.00
Interest on bank account in National Savings	
Bank of Albany.....	.18
Balance due Treasurer October 1, 1937.....	2,561.02
	\$4,531.20

EXPENDITURES.

Balance due Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	\$2,484.49
Disbursements, Corresponding Secretary's Office..	20.00
Salary and expenses of Librarian.....	1,903.84
Miscellaneous services and supplies for Library...	101.42
Billheads for Treasurer.....	7.65
Purchase of book ("Anthony Taylor Family History")	13.50
Exchange on checks.....	.30
	\$4,531.20

EQUIPMENT FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	\$1,166.55	
No receipts		————— \$1,166.55

EXPENDITURES.

No expenditures		
Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1937.....	\$1,166.55	

RESEARCH FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	\$1,507.21	
No receipts		————— \$1,507.21

EXPENDITURES.

No expenditures		
Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1937.....	\$1,507.21	

ABRAHAM ERLANGER FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	\$2,669.38	
Interest	53.77	————— \$2,723.15

EXPENDITURES.

No expenditures		
Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1937.....	\$2,723.15	

HELEN C. ROSENDALE MEMORIAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1936.....	\$1,399.30	
Interest	28.18	————— \$1,427.48

EXPENDITURES.

No expenditures		
Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1937.....	\$1,427.48	

STATEMENT OF CASH ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY,
OCTOBER 1, 1937.

Balances with Treasurer October 1, 1937:

Equipment Fund	\$1,166.55
Research Fund	1,507.21
Abraham Erlanger Fund.....	2,723.15
Helen C. Rosendale Memorial Fund.....	1,427.48
	\$6,824.39

Less.

Balance due Treasurer October 1, 1937:

General Fund	2,561.02
	\$4,263.37

The committee to nominate officers and additional members of the executive council of the Society presented its report. The following were thereupon unanimously elected:

President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.; Vice-Presidents, Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, Ohio, and Captain N. Taylor Phillips; Corresponding Secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, both of New York City; Recording Secretary, Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks; Curator, Leon Huhner, both of New York City. Additional members of the Executive Council (for a term of three years ending with the forty-fourth annual meeting of the Society); Dr. Joshua Bloch, New York City; Lee M. Friedman, Boston, Mass.; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Ill.; and Lessing J. Rosenwald, Philadelphia, Pa.

The following papers were read:

"American Jewish historical prototypes in American *romans* and *dramas à clef*"; (2) "A bibliography of the writings of Albert M. Friedenberg," by Edward D. Coleman.

"Rowland Gideon 'ye Jew' of Boston (1674)," by Lee M. Friedman.

"The memoirs and scrapbooks of the late Dr. Joseph Isaac Bluestone of New York City," by Hyman B. Grinstein.

"A projected history of the Jews in Roumania," by Dr. Edward Herbert.

"Jewish fraternal orders in America," by Miss Helen Hadassah Levinthal.

"Hebrew at Harvard," by Rabbi Isidore S. Meyer.

"Isaac Emanuel," by George J. Miller.

"Fifteen letters of Gershom Mendes Seixas, 1813-1815," by Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool.

"Further information concerning the Jewish colony 'Shalom' at Yageville, in Ulster County, N. Y.," by M. R. Ringel.

"A note on the background of the American national colors," by Rabbi David B. Swiren.

The following papers were read by title:

"Random notes," by Dr. Cyrus Adler.

"Palestinian messengers in the United States, 1849-1879," by Prof. Salo W. and Jeannette M. Baron.

"Three Hebrew epics by American Hebrew poets on the American Indian," by Prof. Hillel Bavli.

"Jewish colonial enterprise in the light of the Jeffery Amherst Papers," by Miss Frances Dublin.

"Personal sidelights on Newport Jews from the Rhode Island Commercial Correspondence," by Lee M. Friedman.

"New documents of Max Lilienthal concerning his activities in Russia," by Dr. Saul M. Ginsburg.

"A letter to Saul Lowenstamm, chief rabbi of Amsterdam, from the Mickveh Israel Synagogue of Philadelphia, dated 9 Nissan 5445 (1785)"; (2) "The Constitution and by-laws of the *Hebra Hinuch Nearim*, New York, 1825," by Hyman B. Grinstein.

"Dr. Henry Illoway," by Dr. Solomon R. Kagan.

"A Bohemian Jewish immigrant's manuscript diary during his voyage from Hamburg to New York, in 1847," by Prof. Guido Kisch.

"Documents relative to the estate of Aaron Lopez," by Dr. Harold Korn.

"Present-day American Jewish drama," by Dr. Joseph Mersand.

"William Gottlieb Schauffler (1798-1883) and his editions of the Old Testament in Ladino," by Dr. Leon Nemoy.

"The Yeshiva of Volozhin and American Jewry"; (2) "A pocket-edition prayer book for Jewish immigrants to America, 1842," by Isaac Rivkind.

"A volume of Ketubahs of K. K. Berachah Vesalom, Surinam, Nissan 20, 5537-Adar I, 17, 5543 (June 25, 1777-Feb. 19, 1783)"; (2) "The mohelbook of Juda ben Michael de Vries, 1799-1818, in Surinam," by J. S. daSilva Rosa.

"An early (1745) English intervention on behalf of foreign Jewry," by Dr. Hans W. Spiegel.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were presented: Simon W. Rosendale, by Isidor Lewi; Wilberforce Eames, by Dr. Joshua Bloch.

REPORT OF LEON HUHNER, CURATOR, AND
EDWARD D. COLEMAN, LIBRARIAN.

The most notable gift to the Library, during the period covered by this report, Oct. 1935–Dec. 1937, came from Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach in the form of a collection of books and periodicals purchased by him from the estate of a private book collector. It consists of about 800 volumes, of which about a third are periodicals, published mostly in this country. The books are largely on history, economics, biography and folklore. Among the periodicals are complete sets of the *Zukunft*, 1892–1935, der *Zeitgeist*, humorous papers, theatrical journals and yearbooks of all kinds. They date from the eighties and nineties of the last century and correspond with the period of the great migration of East European Jews to America. In them can be traced the rise and growth of many local and national organizations—religious, fraternal, trade-union and charitable. They supplement the Society's collection of about 1350 American periodicals and serials in English. To the Rosenbach Collection, in memory of his mother, Isabella Rosenbach, Dr. Rosenbach also added the following volumes:

Selections of a father, by Isaac Gomez, Jr. This edition has a printed endorsement of the volume by John Adams, while all other known copies bear a different endorsement (see Rosenbach Bibliography, item 209).

Lacon; or, Many things in few words. New York: S. Marks, 1824.
The happiness of Israel and America, by Peter I. Van Pelt. New York, 1803.

Two sermons, by Jeremy Belknap. Boston, 1801.

The merchant; a satire, by Moses Aaron, a Jew. New York, 1803.
His: *A book-hunter's holiday*, Boston, 1936.

His: *Early American children's books*, Portland, Maine, 1933 (no. 484 of 585 copies printed on Worthy Aurelian paper, autographed); and

Act of incorporation. Constitution and by-laws Congregation Shangarai Chesed. New Orleans, 1853.

- The following gifts were received for our Archives and Museum:
- Mathilda V. Cook, Madison, Wisc. Minute book of the Madison, Wisc., Hebrew Congregation, 1856-1922, when the Congregation ceased to function.
- Prof. Israel Davidson. Letter of Rabbi H. A. Henry, San Francisco, Feb. 1868, to Sir Moses Montefiore.
- Mrs. Solomon deSola. Two large framed oil paintings of Moise Abraham Jesurun (1799-1853) and his wife, née Leah Senior, 1800-1880 residents of Curaçao, the maternal grandparents of Dr. Solomon deSola of New York City.
- Lee M. Friedman, Boston. Photostats relating to the naturalization of Aaron Lopez in Massachusetts.
- Robert G. Freund. Documents relating to his ancestors who emigrated from Germany, during 1854-1885.
- The family of the late Mrs. H. Gomez, through the courtesy of Mrs. Emil Maas. An American copper Hanukah candelabrum.
- Leon Huhner. A large collection of clippings of American Jewish history, both past and contemporary, as well as several book and prints of interest to the Society.
- Jewish Education Association, through the courtesy of Mr. Israel S. Chipkin. Its: Maimonides medal.
- The Kohler family (Miss Lili, Rose, and Mr. Edgar J. Kohler). 2 photostats relating to David Einhorn; framed portraits of Holdheim, Geiger, Leipziger, Einhorn and Luzzatti; and the certificate of the H. U. C. honorary degree of Max J. Kohler.
- Eldon S. Lazarus, New Orleans. Photostats of the charter granted to the Congregation "Dispersed of Judah," in New Orleans, 1847.
- Estate of Sarah Lyons, through the efforts of Mr. Leon Huhner. Her family album containing portraits of members of the Nathan, Cardozo, and Hendricks families, and of other members of her family.
- Mrs. Amelia Levy von Mayhoff. Four daguerreotypes of Jonas Phillips Levy, his wife and children; a portrait of Rachel Phillips, daughter of Jonas Phillips, 1769-1839; a beaded bag bearing the design of New York City Hall, made by Esther Allen Mitchell; items relating to Uriah Phillips Levy; and 2 bronze medals, presented to Mrs. von Mayhoff- the Hudson-Fulton celebration, 1909, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, 1904.
- Estate of Alice Davis Menken. Framed portraits of herself and husband, Mortimer M. Menken.
- Miss Rosalie Nathan. Portrait of Harriet Tobias Hendricks, together with a lace cap worn by her.

Estate of Julian Nathan, through the courtesy of the Curator. Large framed portraits of Benjamin Nathan and his wife Grace Emily; framed certificate of Julian Nathan's membership in the Sons of the Revolution; and a large, framed picture of the Synagogue Shearith Israel.

Hon. N. Taylor Phillips. Photostats reproducing a tribute to Abraham Lincoln by Adolphus S. Solomons.

Rev. Dr. D. deSola Pool. Letters written by Gershom Mendes Seixas, 1813-1815, to his daughter Sarah (Seixas) and her husband, Isaac Baer Kursheedt, at Richmond, Va. (see Dr. Pool's summary of these letters in the present volume of the *Publications*); a velvet skull-cap worn by the Rev. J. J. Lyons.

Mr. Raphael Sachs. 23 books and a number of prints, drawings and lithographs of American Jewish interest; 2 A. L. s. of Nathan Straus, with a large portrait of him; 8 colored cartoons of English Jewish worthies, which had appeared in *Vanity Fair*; a broadsheet of the Order of the Procession, November 10, 1834, at the induction of the Lord Mayor of London, showing Alexander Raphael as one of the two sheriffs; Letter by Simon Nathan, 1793; and a memorandum by Edmund Randolph to a Mr. Cohn, 1801; almanacks, etc.

Walter Seligman. 9 oil portrait canvasses of the elder Seligmans; James, Henry, Joseph, Leopold, William, Isaac, Jesse, Abraham, and one not identified.

Rev. Dr. Abram Simon, Washington, D. C. Broadsheet, Prayer at the opening of the House of Representatives, Feb. 1, 1860, by the Rev. Morris J. Raphall.

Mrs. William P. Van Wyck. Portraits of Dr. Lewis Feuchtwanger and his wife, née Augusta Levy.

Mrs. Felix M. Warburg, through the courtesy of Dr. Cyrus Adler. Facsimile engrossed (by Mr. Joseph B. Abrahams) account of the Dedication of the Seminary gates.

Anonymous. Oil portrait of Michael Gratz, 1737-1811; and

Mrs. Morton L. Adler, through the courtesy of Dr. Cyrus Adler, A. L. s. J. P. Benjamin, April 1863, to Louis Heyliger, Nassau, on the stationery of "Confederate States of America."

Gifts of books continued to be received from old and new friends of the Library, as follows:

Dr. Joshua Bloch. *Biography of Adah Isaacs Menken*, by E. James, 1882; and D. Wilansky's *Sinai to Cincinnati*, 1937.

Moses Burkhardt. *Journey to Jerusalem*, by Nathaniel Crouch, Hartford, 1796 (Rosenbach Bibliography, item 109).

- A. E. Capedose, London. *Noble families among Sephardic Jews*, by Isaac de Costa, London, 1936.
- Estate of Pauline Einhorn Coblens (through the courtesy of Miss Lili Kohler). Nine volumes of American Jewish interest, and a large mahogany book-case.
- Grand Lodge of R. I. (through the kind effort of Col. J. H. Tatsch). Henry W. Rugg's *History of Freemasonry in Rhode Island*. Providence, 1895.
- Jewish Museum, London. Alfred Rubens' *Anglo-Jewish portraits*, 1935.
- The Misses Lili and Rose Kohler. *Immigration and aliens in the United States*, by Max J. Kohler, and volumes 9 and 10 of Alexander C. Flick's *History of the state of New York* (which completes this 10-volume work).
- Rabbi Morris Lazon, Baltimore. *Maryland tercentenary Jewish book*, 1934.
- Library of Congress. Its: *Annual report* for 1909, 1911, 1919 and 1920, which completes our holding of this serial.
- Hon. Lucius N. Littauer. *Selected works of H. G. Enelow*, in 4 volumes.
- Sanford A. Moss, Lynn, Mass. *Genealogy of the John Moss family*. Rutland, 1937.
- Mrs. Henry Necarsulmer. *Roll Jordan, roll*, by Julia Peterkin; Photographic studies by Doris Ulmann. New York, 1931 (no. 62 of an edition of 350).
- Adelaide (Australia) Hebrew Congregation. *Jews in South Australia, 1836-1936*, by Hirsch Munz.
- Edward D. Coleman. *Trial of Francis Francia*, London, 1717, Peter Colquhoun's *A treatise on the police of the metropolis*, London, 1796; Aryeh Loeb Breslau's *Pene Aryeh* [Responsa], Amsterdam, 1790 (see Josuhua Bloch in *Publications*, no. 33, p. 251); Moses Aaronson's *Maatoei Moshe* [Responsa of American interest]. Jerusalem, 1878; and *South Shore Temple Year Book for 1926*. Chicago, 1926.
- Joseph B. Abrahams, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 12 volumes in Yiddish on American subjects.
- The New York Public Library. 6 volumes and 4 pamphlets in Hebrew and Yiddish on American Subjects.
- South African Jewish Board of Deputies. *History of Jews in South Africa*, by Louis Herrman, Johannesburg, 1935, and *South African Jewish Year Book*, 1929
- George J. Miller, Perth Amboy, N. J. His: *A bibliography of David Borrenstein; a printer of Princeton, N. J., 1824-1828*, and 23 volumes of the *Biblical Repertory*, 1829-1854.

Mrs. Herman L. Winer. Complete set in 20 bound, folio volumes of the *Jewish Daily Food News*, Jan. 1923-Aug. 28, 1936; and
 Mr. Jacob Kreplak, who has been unusually good to us by sending us regularly South American periodicals, jubilee volumes of American Jewish labor organizations, and "fugitive" material of all sorts.

The following volumes were received from their authors, editors or publishers:

- Prof. Hillel Bavli. *Masad*, v. 1-2 (1933-36), edited by him and the Morris Levine memorial volume, New York, 1937.
 Henry V. Besso. His: *Vide e obras de Maimonides*, 1936.
 Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom. His: *The economic activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the 18th and 19th centuries* [based, in part, on the Brazilian material in the Oppenheim collection of our Society].
 S. Broches, Boston. His: *in miten Tumel*, Wilno, 1937, and several photostats of documents relating to New England Jewry.
 C. A. Brockman. His: *100 years of Aurora Grata, 1808-1908*, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 B. Cassel. His: *Keidan*, 1930.
 Rabbi Henry Cohen. His: *One hundred years of Jewry in Texas*.
 G. R. G. Conway, Mexico. *Process de Luis Caravajal (El Mazo)*, Mexico, 1935, and his: *Martinez del Rio*, Mexico, 1937.
 Mrs. Edward Cooch. *Delaware Constitution Sesqui-centennial*, Wilmington, 1937.
 J. S. daSilva Rosa, Amsterdam. Various pamphlets and reprints by him.
 A. E. Franklin, London. *Records of the Franklin family*, 1935.
 Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore. Two of his reprints on Jewish physicians.
 Lee M. Friedman, Boston. His: *Zola and the Dreyfus case*. Boston, 1937.
 Geo. Garvin, Brooklyn. *Der Humorist*, a periodical. v. 1, no. 1-8 (Feb.-Sept. 1921).
 Gloversville, N. Y. Leader-Republican. Its: 50th anniversary edition, Oct. 5, 1937.
 Rabbi Solomon Goldman. His: *The Jew and the universe*, 1936.
 R. J. H. Gottheil. His: *Life of Gustav Gottheil*, 1936.
 Dr. Edward Herbert. His: *Roumania as I found it*. New York, 1928.
 Dr. Michael Higger. His publications during 1936 and 1937, as well as numerous volumes by other authors.
 Prof. Jacob H. Hollander. His: *The economic library of Jacob H. Hollander* (no. 442 of 500 copies, privately printed).

- Maximilian Hurwitz. His: *History of the Workmen's Circle*, 1936.
Israelite Press, Winnipeg. *100th anniversary of the emancipation of the Jews in Canada*, 1932.
- Jesse H. Joseph. His: *Heritage*, Cincinnati, 1935 (autographed copy).
- Solomon Kerstein. *10th jubilee volume of the Michael Tenzer family circle*. New York, 1937.
- Dr. Nicholas Kopeloff. *Memoirs of I. Kopeloff*, in two volumes.
- N. S. Libovitz. *Rabbi Abraham Saba*, Brooklyn, 1936. No. 18 of 100 copies.
- Joseph Margoshes. His: *Erinnerungen von mein leben*, 1936.
- Jacob Milch. His: *Memoirs*, New York, 1936.
- Harvey O'Connor. His: *The Guggenheims*, New York, 1937.
- Dr. Robet. W. Reid. His: *Washington Lodge, no. 21, F. & A. M.*, 1911.
- Wilfred S. Samuel. London. His: *The Jewish colonists in Barbados*, 1936.
- Sigmund Seeligmann, Amsterdam. His: 8 pamphlets on historical and bibliographical subjects.
- S. H. Setzer. Das "Wort" Bibliothek, 2 v. (1934-35).
- Leo Shpall. His: *The Jews in Louisians* and his: *A Jewish agricultural colony in Louisiana*.
- Harry Smith and Col. J. H. Tatsch, Boston. Their: *Moses Michael Hays*, 1937.
- Southern Israelite, Atlanta. Its: *100 years of Southern Jewry*, 1934.
- L. M. Stein, Chicago. Seven volumes published by him, including two, which were received through the courtesy of Mr. A. I. Grade, Chicago.
- Z. Tygel. His: *Gestalten*, New York, 1928.
- Vatican Library, Rome. *I Manoscritti Palatini Ebraici*, by U. Cassutto.
- Bernard Witt. His translation of Lafcadio Hearn's *Chinese legends*.
- Prof. Harry A. Wolfson, Cambridge. Three of his reprints.
- Young Poale Zion Alliance. B. Borochov, *Nationalism and the class struggle*.

The courtesy of national Jewish organizations of all sorts and the publisher of various American Jewish periodicals, in favoring us with their annual reports, periodical issues and releases, continues. These publications are the source material for future historical investigation and we value them highly. During the period here reported we have also received from:

Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, *Jewish studies in memory of George A. Kohut*, New York, 1935, and *Additamenta ad librum Aruch Completum*, Vienna, 1937.

- B'nai B'rith, District Grand Lodges, no. 1, 2, 4, 6 and the Constitution Grand Lodge, ten, twelve, eighteen, eight and two (respectively) of their annual *Reports and Proceedings*.
- Chicago Sinai Congregation, its *Seventy-fifth anniversary celebration, 1861-1936*.
- Congreg. Beth Israel, Richmond Hill, L. I., its 10 annual souvenir journals, 1925-1933 (through the courtesy of Mr. Sol Cohen).
- Federation of Polish Jews of America, its *Verband*, a periodical, in 11 volumes.
- Hadassah Organization, its Year books, 18 in number, 1919-1936.
- Jewish Consumptives' Association, Los Angeles, its *News Letter*, 1931-1937.
- Jewish Consumptive Relief Society of Denver; a complete set of its publications, *Sanatoriums*, *Hatikvah* and *JCRS Bulletins*. They contain much biographical material, beside the record of an unusually active national organization.
- Jewish Publication Society of America, its publications during the period, as well as 21 additional volumes to complete our holdings of all the works printed by it.
- Order Sons of Zion, its *B'nai Zion voice*, v. 4-6.
- Workmen's Circle, the publications and reports of the various bodies affiliated with it.
- Yeshivah College (through the courtesy of Mr. Jacob Hartstein), a number of publications issued under its auspices.

Books, pamphlets and periodicals were received also from the following friends of our Library: American Jewish Committee; Anti-Defamation League, Chicago; Prof. Salo W. Baron, Harold Berman and Rabbi J. Brevis, New York; Rabbi J. Doctorowitz, Brooklyn; Rabbi A. J. Feldman, Hartford; Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Philadelphia; Rabbi Sidney Guthman, Chelsea, Mass.; Ludwig Harburger, Hebrew American Typographical Union, International Workers' Order (publications issued by it), Jewish Education Association, Michael Kamen, Rabbi Isidor Konowitz, Jacob Levinson, New York; Louisiana State Museum; Dr. Judah L. Magnes, Jerusalem; Rabbi Max Malina, New York; Prof. Jacob R. Marcus, Cincinnati; James Marshall, New York; Dr. Saul Mezan, Sofia, Bulgaria; N. B. Minkoff, Rev. Dr. D. deSola Pool, Isaac Rivkind, Dr. Paul Romanoff, M. Shifris, and the Cloaks & Suits Operators' Union, New York; Congreg. Beth Israel, San Francisco; Flatbush Hebrew Institute, Brooklyn; Friends of Zion, New York; Hebrew Theological College, Chicago; Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati; Jewish Socialist Verband, Mizrachi Organization of America, New York; Montreal Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies and Canadian Jewish Congress, Mon-

treah; National Jewish Hospital, Denver; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; United States Sesqui-Centennial Commission; United Hebrew Trades; the late B. Charney Vladeck, New York; Yeshivah Torah Chayim, Brooklyn; and the Young Men's Philanthropic League, New York.

We have continued to receive nearly all Jewish periodicals in this country in English and many of those in other languages, as well as, by exchange, the serials of many state historical societies. To all our friends we extend our most earnest thanks in helping us in the task to which our Society is dedicated, and we bespeak their kindness and interest in the future.

JEWISH COLONIAL ENTERPRISE IN THE LIGHT OF THE AMHERST PAPERS (1758-1763).

BY FRANCES DUBLIN, A. M.

In the course of an investigation of the Amherst Papers for information dealing with the career of a British officer, the writer was struck with the numerous references to Jews, whether overt or by inference, in American colonial enterprise. The data revealed by a page-to-page examination showed an impressive degree of Jewish participation, if the Amherst Papers can be taken as at all illustrative of the forces at work in colonial America. Considering the official nature of the correspondence, this assumption can be taken for granted. The fact that Jews figure so prominently in the correspondence of the commander-in-chief is in itself, of course, very significant.

The Amherst Papers, the official correspondence of Sir Jeffery Amherst, comprise over 260 manuscript volumes, and are contained in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London. The letters deal not only with military affairs, such as the conduct of the campaigns entered upon and the related problem of victualling the large forces on the American establishment, but with Indian relations as well as with civil matters. The years covered range from 1758 to 1763, when Sir Jeffery was Commander in Chief of the forces in North America. The two chief points concerning his incumbency to be emphasized for the purposes of the present study are (1) the establishment of British supremacy in North America, and (2) the great Indian Uprising of 1763. Within the framework of these events occur the Jewish gleanings.

During the period under consideration, the rivalry between Great Britain and France, waged for over a century for world

empire and trade, entered the last phase of the struggle. The conflict in America, which represented but one aspect in the general rivalry, had its sources chiefly in overlapping territorial claims in the interior, the fur trade, and Indian alliances. The French had long viewed with suspicion the growing activities of the English in their push westward, and, in order to check their further aggression, were carrying out a plan of a line of military posts in the contested land of the interior which centered about the forks of the Ohio River. Their success gravely imperilled the position of the English in this region, and, in the war which followed, the latter were determined to recover their strength definitely on the banks of the Ohio. But the first efforts of the English met with dismal failure. Not until 1758 did the tide begin to turn in their favour. One vital fact profoundly altered the whole course of events. William Pitt was now at the helm and, with Frederick of Prussia as his ally, to whom he entrusted the European phase of the struggle, he proceeded to concentrate all his strength on America, which he viewed as its real crux. By building up the navy and placing in positions of command young and deserving men, Pitt hoped to achieve his purpose and make England supreme in America. In this he was not disappointed, as the brilliant successess of Amherst, Wolfe, and others inevitably led to final victory.

In the campaigns as outlined by Pitt, the outstanding gains for British arms were Louisburg, Duquesne, Niagara, Frontenac, and Quebec, culminating in the surrender of Montreal in 1760, which marked the downfall of New France. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763) France ceded to Britain all of Canada and her other claims in North America east of the Mississippi River. The region west of it was transferred to Spain.

From 1760 until his departure in 1763 Amherst had largely to deal with administrative problems. One internal question in particular pressed forward—that of Indian rela-

tions. Scarcely was British supremacy established, when rumblings of disaffection from this source began to be heard, seriously menacing Britain's security. The cession of lands which the Indians considered as rightly theirs had greatly incensed them, and, within a short space, their smouldering fury burst forth into active hostility. Bent on blocking the advance of the English into the Mississippi Valley, they rose up in a revolt organized under the able leadership of the great Ottawa chief, Pontiac. The Western Indians were thereby brought together into a concerted plan and succeeded in attacking the frontier posts. These posts were peculiarly vulnerable to attack, since, after the fall of New France, the garrisons had been reduced to a peace-time establishment. Amherst, almost on the eve of his departure, was called on to deal with the revolt, which was, in fact, only put down by his successor. Among the chief sufferers from these Indian depredations were the traders. Among these numbered many Jews.

The colonial structure, though basically English, did not preclude many diverse elements, including, as here suggested, the Jewish. Hence, the importance of the Amherst Papers as indicating some of the main channels of Jewish enterprise. Considered specifically from the Jewish angle, the correspondence may be characterized along three points of interest. First, mention of Jews, implied or direct, occurs in 36 volumes, out of a rough total of 260. Considering the total population of the Jews at the time,¹ this forms a significant proportion. The mention varies from a bare reference or two to whole pages describing Jewish participation. Secondly, the kind of activities engaged in was wider in scope than generally supposed. For though commercial enterprises dominated, records of other kinds are by no means negligible,

¹ As late as 1818, M. M. Noah estimated the Jewish population of United States of that time to be 3000. See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 6, p. 142.

notably the military one—a fact to be specially emphasized. Lastly, there is mention of Jews of whom no previous record exists, to the best knowledge of the writer; and, as regards those whose names were previously known in colonial annals, much fresh information is gleaned from the Amherst Papers, particularly as touching the Franks' clan.

One word of caution about establishing the Jewish identity in the absence of precise information. By and large, the usual association of certain names with Jewishness has been accepted, within certain broad limits. Frequently the context itself offers a check. To cite an example: the name of a Capt. Solomon was repeatedly encountered; but his being referred to as an Indian settled his identity, so to speak. In the same way, others were ruled out which at first might suggest a Jew. But of those included within the Jewish category, a certain number elude definitive ascription. They are placed here tentatively, in the absence of a sure means of identification, on the ground that they might very well be those of Jews, and they are here cited for further corroboration or correction, as the case may prove to be. In any event, some indication of uncertainty, where uncertainty exists, is made. That a Jewish inference from a Jewish-sounding name may not be unfounded is borne out in a case like that of Sir Alexander Schömberg, who served on the staff of Gen. Wolfe.²

Jewish names occurring in the Amherst Papers fall into two well-defined groups; one, and by far the most numerous and influential, being those pursuing some branch of trade and commerce, and another, those engaged in the actual fighting of the inter-colonial wars. However, two individual cases remain, not falling within either category.

² See Benjamin G. Sack in Arthur D. Hart, editor, *The Jew in Canada; a complete record of Canadian Jewry*, Toronto, 1926, p. 14. "Gen. Wolfe's war staff included a Jew, Sir Alexander Schömberg."

MISCELLANEOUS.

To dispose of the miscellaneous cases first. There is record of a Jewish landowner at Halifax, by the name of Abrahams, specifically referred to as "the Jew". It is inferred, from the context, that his ownership antedated 1762. After his death, his property, described as not having much timber fit for his Majesty's service, together with other ungranted lands in the vicinity of the "Bason" reverted to the Crown.³ No mention heretofore has been found of Abrahams in the general accounts dealing with the Jewish pioneers in the settlement of Canada.

The second case is offered tentatively, on the basis of the name, Abraham Gold, which possesses a strong Jewish flavour. If it should be established that he was a Jew, he furnishes quite one of the most striking bits of evidence of Jewish participation in colonial life. It has generally been assumed that Jews, though enjoying economic freedom in the New England colonies, did not share in their political life. But, if our assumption be well-founded that Abraham Gold was a Jew, this statement is in need of some qualification. He comes to our attention as a constable at Fairfield, Connecticut, in 1759, at which time he testified in a case of bad conduct charged against three soldiers of the 48th Regiment. The complaint was lodged by Thos. Treadwell, for assaulting, beating, and wounding the said Treadwell.⁴

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

As previously suggested, the Amherst Papers yield an unexpectedly rich harvest for Jewish affairs in the military sphere. It is generally recognized that the Jews who served

³ W.O.34/15, F.205. A letter of 25 Jan. 1762 which states that the proprietors of the lands referred to are dead.

⁴ W.O.34/28, F.25; F.27.

in the American Revolution were not the first ones to bear arms or to hold military rank in the colonies. The Amherst Papers, however, prove this. This proof is a part of their importance. In all, seven names were found in this connection in these papers, two of whom held military rank.

The first to come to our attention is Abraham (not to be confused with Abrahams). He is mentioned as one of the soldiers taken prisoner with Captain Kennedy in Canada, in November, 1759.⁵ The circumstances in which the party was captured are typical of some of the worst hazards of the times. The military operations of the year centered chiefly on Quebec against which Wolfe was to lead an expedition. At the same time Amherst was to attempt to reach Canada by way of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. It was while Amherst paused at the latter place in order to build a fortress that he found himself unable to communicate with Wolfe at Quebec. He therefore sent Captain Kennedy, with some companions, including Abraham, to go through the forest by way of certain Indian settlements. Kennedy was instructed that, if he encountered any Indians, he was to reward them handsomely for taking him and his companions to Gen. Wolfe. But the Indians, instead of honouring his flag of truce, captured Kennedy and his men. The report of the capture was conveyed to Amherst by a letter from Montcalm.

There is also mention, for 1760, of Jacob Wolf and Joseph Wexler, when military operations for the final reduction of Canada were in full swing. They were recruits reinlisted for the Second Battalion of the Royal American Regiment at Quebec.⁶ They were possibly German Jews.

The next case that comes to hand, that of Lieut. Joseph Levey, is particularly interesting. As one holding military rank, and as one whose activities centered in a region in which

⁵ W.O.34/8, F.20.

⁶ W.O.34/4, F.74.

Jews are scarcely known to have engaged in fighting, and more especially, because his name appears in the proceedings of a court martial held for the trial of a deserter this Levey is deserving of special attention. The scene is South Carolina, in 1761, and the circumstances deal with the difficulties arising from the Cherokee Indians. The Cherokees, a powerful Indian tribe of 6000 warriors, inhabited the region near the head of the Savannah River, and extending far westward. Trouble with them had arisen when, after war had been declared between England and France, in 1756, numbers of Cherokees, while returning home from West Virginia where they had been aiding the British forces, committed some depredations. By way of punishment they had been set upon, and some of them murdered. Whereupon Indian reprisals followed. The punitive war against them, initiated by Gov. Lyttleton, was only terminated by his successor, Lieut. Gov. Bull, with the help of Col. James Grant of the British army. It was during one of these expeditions against the Cherokees, in 1761, led by Col. Grant, that a corporal had deserted, and shortly thereafter, the court martial was held at which Lieut. Levey attended as one of the board.⁷

Perhaps the most outstanding individual case in the military sphere presented by the Amherst Papers is that of Capt. Elias Meyer. Though positive evidence is lacking that he was a Jew, this presumption is not unlikely. Meyer belonged to the Royal American Regiment which was largely composed of Germans.⁸ It is known that Jews formed a part of this German Legion, commanded by Bouquet and Haldimand, under the former of whom Meyer himself served. It is also known that these German Jews were found in considerable numbers in

⁷ W.O.34/47, F. 141.

⁸ Jean N. McIlwraith. *Sir Frederick Haldimand*. (In: The Makers of Canada Series) London, 1905, *passim*.

Pennsylvania,⁹ the theatre of Meyer's activities. Besides the Amherst Papers, the Bouquet Papers¹⁰ contain innumerable references to Meyer, and thus a fairly detailed account of his military career can be reconstructed, from 1761 to 1763, and, by inference, as far back as 1747.

The first mention, in June 1761, is a casual one, and occurs in a letter of Bouquet, who was stationed at Fort Pitt, to Amherst, stating that he had just received the latter's letter of the 17th by Lt. Meyer.¹¹ The following month, Bouquet, writing again from Fort Pitt to Amherst, complains of the Provincials' refusal to go beyond Fort Pitt. He is therefore compelled to send the Royal Americans, under the command of Lieut. Meyer, which he will proceed to do as soon as he can procure the necessary horses and cattle.¹² This was a stock complaint of the regulars, and a cause of great friction. In August of the same year, Meyer is sent to the post at Sandusky Lake. His instructions from Bouquet call for his building a Block House there, to serve as a halting place for the party going to and coming from Detroit. Upon his arrival, he is to communicate with Capt. Campbell, to inform him of the number of cattle he has for him, and also to keep in touch with Cochran at Presqu'Isle. Above all, he is to keep a vigilant eye on the Indians to see that nothing untoward occurs. And finally, he is to keep in constant touch with Bouquet.¹³

⁹ A. D. Hart, *supra*, p. 14. "Aaron Hart was a lieutenant in the English army, serving with the 'German Legion.'" *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 503.

¹⁰ *Michigan historical collections*, vol. 19. The t.p. of this volume designates it as "Collections and researches made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society," Lansing, 1892, vol. 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103. "You will inform me by all opportunities of your proceedings & be as expeditious as possible in order to compleat your work before the bad weather setts in."

Meyer left Fort Pitt the 13th of August ¹⁴ and, writing to Bouquet, the 1st of September, described the unsatisfactory situation at Sandusky. Necessary provisions were lacking. He felt compelled to go to Detroit. This matter of obtaining adequate provisions and tools is frequently referred to in the correspondence, and Meyer's complaints may be regarded as showing up a characteristic difficulty confronting the military. Apparently, he met with scant success on his errand to Detroit and was greatly concerned as to how he would manage to render the post at Sandusky sufficiently secure.¹⁵ There is much writing back and forth about obtaining supplies¹⁶; but finally, Meyer manages to complete the Block House by the end of the year.¹⁷

The rest of the available data concerning Meyer is chiefly drawn from our Amherst Papers. By February of 1762, Meyer had returned to Fort Pitt from Sandusky.¹⁸ In March he was recommended by Bouquet for promotion. The reason given was his long and valuable services, for "he had been 13 years a lieutenant, 11 an engineer, and now was the eldest Lieutenant in the Four Battalions."¹⁹ The recommendation was duly passed on by Amherst.²⁰

At Fort Pitt, Meyer's chief task was surveying the environs.²¹ Upon completing this, he proceeded to Quebec to join the Second Battalion of the Royal American. The next series of letters²² in the Amherst Papers containing references to Meyer cite interesting developments in the general European situation. One was Britain's declaration of war against Spain which involved also France, with whom Spain had a secret

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-112.

¹⁸ W.O.34/40, F.279.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113, 114, 117, 120.

¹⁹ W.O.34/40, F.285.

²⁰ *Michigan historical collections*, vol. 19, p. 140, 147.

²¹ W.O.34/40, F.307.

²² W.O.34/3, F.167; W.O.34/7, F.229, F.579.

alliance, in final disaster. Another, and a cause for rejoicing, was the victory of Ferdinand, the ally of Britain, over the French. News of this, which had arrived by the Pitt Packett,²³ was dispatched to Quebec by Meyer and duly acknowledged by Gage,²⁴ who was in command there at the time.

In 1763, Meyer is heard of in less favourable circumstances. A reduction of part of the Royal American had been ordered as part of the general reduction of the forces to a peace-time establishment. For Meyer it meant that he would be reduced to lieutenant's half-pay,²⁵ naturally a great hardship for one who had seen sixteen years' service. Murray, before whom Meyer had set his case, interceded for him with Amherst,²⁶ but no exception could be taken, since Meyer's name duly appeared on the list of officers of the Second Battalion of the 60th or Royal Regiment of Foot, reduced by His Majesty's Orders.²⁷ However, he was kept on in the service of Murray at Quebec, who had been made governor there in 1763. Part of his duties now consisted in assisting in the work of building barracks and generally superintending the work of cantoning the troops in the newly conquered country. This was a ticklish business, involving, as it did, a difference in religion between the new rulers and the conquered.²⁸

The last name in the military category is that of Hyman, with slight variations in spelling, to whom five references are found. His is another name among Jewish participants about whom no previous record has thus far been found. Hyman was a gunner in an Artillery Company captured in an engagement in 1760. Two references cite this. The first merely lists him as an English private taken prisoner at the time²⁹; the second, dated Sept. 11, 1763,³⁰ mentions his hav-

²³ W.O.34/7, F.579.

²⁴ W.O.34/5, F.212.

²⁵ W.O.34/2, F.441.

²⁶ W.O.34/2, F.439.

²⁷ W.O.34/53, F.265.

²⁸ W.O.34/2, F.453.

²⁹ W.O.34/10, F.233.

³⁰ W.O.34/26, F.493.

ing been previously taken at St. Johns. After his release, Hyman was dismissed from his company, without receiving a formal discharge. He then entered into the personal service of Governor Barnard of Massachusetts Bay, making himself extremely useful as his gardener. However, a question arose as to his still being liable to military service, in default of a formal discharge, and it was only by the intervention of Barnard that the matter was satisfactorily settled.⁸¹

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Those following some branch of trade or commerce are by far the most numerous group in the Amherst Papers. Frequently these people are concerned in various enterprises, indicating the interlocking nature of colonial pursuits. It is a point specially to be noted of colonial merchants in general, and no less of the Jews. But whether engaged in one or many callings, Jewish colonial merchants showed great enterprise and daring, some few of them attaining to real prominence.

Not a few were shipowners, sending their vessels far and wide. The case of Samuel Jacobs is particularly instructive as showing how military considerations affected this branch of commerce. Incidentally, his story, as narrated in his Memorial, March 22, 1762,⁸² describes the state of affairs at Quebec at the time. In 1759, Jacobs had been owner of the Schooner Betsey, which was then lying, with a cargo of fish, in the River St. Charles, preparatory to sailing to Oporto, whence it was expected to bring back commodities of Portugal. This was testified to in a letter by Capt. Thomas Martin to Mr. George Bullimore, merchant in Oporto. The voyage, however, never took place, as the boat was seized by orders of Gov. Murray of Quebec, who had been left in charge there after its capture by the British in 1759. The situation Murray found

⁸¹ W.O.34/61, F.329-330.

⁸² W.O.34/3, F.165.

himself in, with the population demoralized and scurvy attacking the garrison, was full of many perils. Moreover, the danger of another attack from the French was ever present. Hence, his orders of pressing the schooner into government service in order to facilitate the transport of cattle and supplies from Orleans to Quebec.

Later, the schooner was again detained after the action of April 28, 1760, when the British suffered a repulse. Murray had laid his plans for the attack on Quebec by the French. Though his men were outnumbered by the French, he set out from Quebec, and occupied the mouth of the Cap Rouge River. Levis, the French officer, with a force of about 7000 men, landed at St. Augustine, whereupon the British fell back upon Sainte Foy. The action which took place there, and referred to in the Memorial, proved disastrous for the British. Murray was forced back and compelled to shut himself up in the inadequate fortifications of Quebec, his force considerably reduced.³³ It was in these circumstances, in 1760, that the schooner was detained in order to attend the retreat of the troops in the event the enemy had obliged them to abandon Quebec. As a result, Jacobs had been forced to sell a three-fourths' share of the vessel, and was therefore petitioning Murray for a certificate for the losses sustained. Murray, in a letter to Amherst, dated June 7, 1762,³⁴ acknowledged the justice of the claim, and recommended that a suitable allowance be made the petitioner for his disappointment. 'The present Jacobs may possibly be the Samuel Jacobs mentioned by Benjamin G. Sack³⁵ and A. M. Hyamson.³⁶

³³ J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, London, 1899, vol. 2, p. 389, ff.

³⁴ W.O.34/3, F.166.

³⁵ In A. D. Hart, *supra*, "Quebec was also settled by Jews at this time . . . Samuel Jacobs . . . established himself at Saint Denis on the Richelieu." p. 14.

³⁶ Albert M. Hyamson, *History of the Jews in England*, London,

In the case of Abrams and Levy, as recorded for the year 1763, a significant consideration arises from the situation described. It is not known precisely what branch of trade these men were engaged in. Mention is merely made that Abrams came from Niagara, and Levy from Montreal. It is inferred that they were connected in business. At this particular juncture, Abrams rendered Levy assistance in the matter of a dispute. The important point is that the dispute, though of a commercial nature, also came to the attention of the military authorities. In a miniature way, so to speak, the case illustrates a characteristic development in the colonial structure. It has been pointed out by an eminent authority,³⁷ how the gradual extension of the military power in matters purely civil arose from a combination of circumstances. After the downfall of New France, the former subjects of France (also of Spain) were likely to come under the military jurisdiction. The military office came thus to be a kind of clearing-house of information on all manner of questions and also the channel through which disputes were settled. Our illustration shows the actual working of this development in the management of colonial affairs. It appears that this Abrams had trouble with his boatmen, who were Canadians, about a matter of hire. This had come to the attention of Major Wilkins of Niagara, while he was on a visit to the upper posts, whither he had gone to look into the transport of provisions. Two Indians, coming from Montreal, had brought with them a letter from Levy. The letter described the dispute and requested Wilkins to settle it in the manner indicated by Governor Gage of Montreal, whose

1928. "Among the earliest known [of the Jews in Canada was] Samuel Jacobs." p. 206, 207.

³⁷ Clarence E. Carter, "Significance of the military office in America, 1763-1775," in: *American historical review*, vol. 28 (1923), pp. 475-488.

instructions were inclosed. Wilkins, writing to the Commander in Chief, informed him that the matter had been duly settled in accordance with the instructions received.³⁸

THE FUR TRADE.

Jews, considering their total number, formed a fairly large proportion of those engaged in the fur trade. Their activity in this sphere can be amply scrutinized in the Amherst Correspondence. The fur trade was one of the cornerstones of the colonial structure. In it, economic, social, and political forces were intimately bound up. As has already been indicated, the great rivalry between Britain and France in large measure sprang from their attempts to obtain control over this trade—a rivalry which gave an immense impetus to the expansion of the West. With the transfer of land, after French power had fallen, it was considerably accelerated, as British fur traders were now encouraged to sell to the Indians. The traders were licensed and their operations can best be described in Parkman's classic account. "The chief thoroughfare from the middle colonies to the Indian country was from Philadelphia westward, across the Alleghanies, to the valley of the Ohio. . . . Their [the fur traders'] merchandise was sometimes carried in wagons as far as the site of . . . Fort Pitt. From this point the goods were packed on the backs of horses, and thus distributed among the various Indian villages. More commonly, however, the whole journey was performed by means of trains, or, . . . brigades of pack-horses, which . . . climbed the shadowy heights of the Alleghanies, and threaded the forests of the Ohio. . . . The principal trader, the owner of the merchandise, would fix his headquarters at some large Indian town, whence he would despatch his subordinates to the surrounding villages, with a suitable supply of blankets and red cloth, guns and hatchets,

³⁸ W.O.34/22, F.203.

liquor, tobacco, paint, beads, and hawks' bells."³⁹ Such goods were exchanged with the Indians as to facilitate them in hunting successfully for skins and pelts. (Rum, of course, served a quite other purpose.) George Croghan was perhaps the outstanding figure in the fur trade, and his eastern factors included Jews; his chief rivals were also Jews. The fur traders were usually backed by the wealthy merchants of Philadelphia, the largest town in colonial America, and one of the chief Jewish centers of the time. The actual management of the trade has thus been described in an article dealing with the Indian trade:⁴⁰ "It involved a connected chain of credits based in the end upon English capital. Certain merchants in London, Bristol, Philadelphia, and Lancaster specialized in this trade. Frequently, they were 'concerned' with a prominent Indian trader in active charge of a number of ordinary traders. Aside from these regular partnerships and joint-stock companies these men were often 'concerned' together in an adventure. When a particular business opportunity presented itself they would pool a part of their capital and goods, and then divide the profits or losses in proportion."

In 1763, mention is made of a Mr. Levy in a transaction with George Croghan, Deputy Agent under Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of the Northern Indians. The reference under consideration⁴¹ certifies that George Croghan, Deputy Agent, in his expenses for the Crown, had paid a certain sum to Mr. Levy for sundry expenses to the Indians dwelling between Pittsburgh and the Detroit. Who this Mr. Levy was is not clear from the context.

³⁹ Francis Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Boston, 1877, vol. 1, p. 153.

⁴⁰ A. T. Volwiler, "George Croghan and the westward movement, 1741-1782," in: *Pennsylvania magazine of biography and history*, vol. 46, pp. 273-311.

⁴¹ W.O.34/201.

Another Levey occurs in this connection as one of the traders seriously affected by the Indian depredations during Pontiac's Uprising. His name is mentioned in a diary of the siege of Detroit, kept by Lieut. James MacDonald.⁴² The account begins with the information brought privately of a conspiracy formed by the Indians to massacre the garrison commanded by Major Wilkins. The reference to Mr. Levey occurs on the last page of the journal, under date of July 9th, when, so the diarist states, Ensign Christy of his battalion who commanded at Presqu'Isle, with three soldiers, and Mr. Levey, a trader, were delivered up by the Wyandots. It appears that Christy, capitulating after a three days' siege, had been promised that he and his garrison would be permitted to go to Fort Pitt; but at their arrival at the Wyandot village they had been seized upon.

Levy Solomons is also mentioned at this juncture of events. It is doubtful whether this Levy Solomons is the man described elsewhere as a Montreal merchant, a pioneer of the Jewish settlement in Canada, who played a part in the beginnings of Michigan.⁴³ In the Amherst Papers⁴⁴ he is specifically spoken of as a "York" trader, who managed to make his escape into D'Troit after having been with the Indians for some time.

One trader who lost his life during this upheaval was Levy A. Levy; but since his name occurs in the operations of his more famous partner, Joseph Simon, he will be mentioned in that connection.

⁴² W.O.34, 49, F.1-23.

⁴³ David E. Heineman, "Jewish beginnings in Michigan before 1850," in *Publications, supra*, no. 13, and Clarence I. De Sola, "Canada" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v. 3.

⁴⁴ W.O.34, 40, F.709.

PURVEYORS.

The group of those who served as purveyors to the British military forces is perhaps the most important of all in Jewish colonial enterprise. An immense volume of business was transacted in furnishing supplies of all kinds for military purposes. Victualling contracts were consequently among the richest prizes sought after in the commercial sphere, many of which were in the hands of Jews. Certainly, from the point of view of the Amherst Papers, this subject is the dominant one, due to the position occupied by the Franks' clan in the correspondence, not to mention others. It will be observed that the men who held these contracts often had connections with others outside their respective provinces; moreover, that London merchants, trading with America, worked in conjunction with American partners.⁴⁵ The Frankses are an example of this. But there were other Jews, operating in a more restricted sphere, who also acted as purveyors to the British forces.

The trading operations of Joseph Simon and Levy A. Levy, concerning whom much is already known, are still further described; and, in one connection, when British arms were moving towards a brilliant victory. This is under date of 1758. Pitt had singled out Louisbourg, Crown Point and Fort Duquesne as the vulnerable points in French possession, and had entrusted the first to Amherst, Crown Point to Abercrombie, and the last to Forbes. It is in connection with the expedition of Forbes against Duquesne that our attention is directed. The chief problem facing Forbes was that of opening lines of communication with the fort. Though stricken with an illness from which he was soon to die, Forbes succeeded in opening up a route which led through Pennsylvania from Carlisle to Fort Duquesne through Shippens-

⁴⁵ Lewis B. Namier. *England in the age of the American Revolution*. London, 1930.

burg and Roystown. The capture of Fort Duquesne, one of the most brilliant successes of the year, struck a serious blow to the power of the French in the Ohio. This, apart from its military significance, had important commercial reverberations as well, especially in the matter of the Indian trade.

Certain sundries for the use of the Indian allies on this expedition were purchased from Joseph Simon and his associates, Levy A. Levy and David Franks.⁴⁶ The last-named will be considered in a subsequent section. As for Joseph Simon, he is frequently described in published accounts as a very influential member of the Jewish community of Lancaster, Pa. He established himself in the Indian trade shortly after his arrival in America, and made frequent excursions to the Ohio and Illinois country. His transactions were far-spread and numerous, and brought him into the very forefront of American merchants. One of his partners at his Lancaster store was his nephew, Levy A. Levy. The letter recounting the purchase of sundries for the use of Forbes' Indian allies, was, in fact, drafted by him. From a subsequent reference, of 1763, it appears that this Levy was one of the traders killed during Pontiac's Uprising. He is described as a trader from Pennsylvania, trading "this side of D'Troit," and makes one more in the long list of those against whom the fury of the Indians wreaked its vengeance.⁴⁷

The Amherst Papers also deal with the transactions of Hayman Levy as purveyor to the British forces. His is a name frequently met with in colonial annals, as one of the prominent merchants of New York engaged in extensive transactions with the Indians in the fur trade, and as proprietor of a large mercantile firm having a European branch.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ W.O.34/197².

⁴⁷ "It has been estimated that about 120 traders thus lost their lives,"—Chas H. McIlwain, in: Peter Wraxall, *An abridgement of Indian Affairs*, Cambridge, 1915.

⁴⁸ Charles P. Daly. *The Settlement of the Jews in North America*. New York, 1893, p. 52.

According to Kohler,⁴⁰ he also owned many vessels, the object of which was to prey upon the enemy's commerce during the Seven Years' War. From the Amherst Papers it appears that in 1760 Levy furnished sundries to the 43rd Regiment.⁴⁰ Again, in 1763, he provided camp equipage by order of Major Hamilton of the 40th Regiment. It would seem that an Isaac Moses was involved in this transaction, since it was to him that Levy sent the invoice of the order.⁴¹ There is also record of a transaction entered into in 1761 with this same Major Hamilton, about which difficulties of settlement subsequently arose. In November of 1761, a bill of exchange had been drawn by Major Hamilton, together with Capt. Adlam, on Thomas Fisher, Esq., of Axe Yard, Westminster, which was returned protested June, 1762. In asking for a speedy settlement of his claim, Levy draws attention to circumstances that had greatly imperilled his financial security. They graphically reveal the dangers incurred by the colonial merchants in their undertakings. Among these, first and foremost, are the Indian depredations during Pontiac's Revolt. Levy had financed a venture, unspecified, of Major Rogers, the great ranger, which had met with failure. He had also been involved in transactions with other traders, which had similarly failed, with some merchants of Albany, and one with Gershom Levy and Partners, of Montreal.⁴²

This same Gershom Levy, together with Hyam Meyers, appear as suing for payment of a bill.⁴³ The circumstances are these. Meyers had received a bill drawn by Lieut. Sinclair in favour of Gershom Levy, drawn on Capt. Loring for money paid to the sailors. Meyers, when asking for the money due him, had been put off by both Sinclair and Loring. As a final

⁴⁰ See his "Jewish life in New York before 1800" in *Publications, supra*, No. 3, p. 81-82.

⁵⁰ W.O.34/198; W.O.34/98, F.265.

⁵¹ W.O.34/201.

⁵² W.O.34/91, F.275.

⁵³ W.O.34/65, F.71.

resort, he was therefore appealing to Amherst for redress. It is inferred that Gershom Levy died some time before Sept. 27, 1763, since, in a letter of that date, Hayman Levy speaks of him as the "late" Gershom Levy.⁶⁴

The most important people in the field of victualling contracts were the Frankses, about whom many accounts have been written. Their business transactions have been described not only in general works on colonial affairs but in studies devoted to specific phases. More particularly, in the official memoranda of the military leaders of the day, as that of Gage and Monckton, the Franks name looms large in the transactions reported. The Amherst Papers constitute an additional source of information, and deal with the three chief figures of the family, Jacob, and his sons, Moses and David; the first from New York, the second as the London representative, and the last as a resident of Philadelphia. There is only a brief reference to Jacob Franks, who died shortly after the events dealt with here. The activities of Moses and David, however, were more or less at their zenith at this time, due mainly to the French and Indian Wars which gave wide scope to the victualling contracts undertaken by them. Moses Franks was the partner in the London firm of the Colebrookes, (James and George) and Arnold Nesbitt; whilst David was associated with Plumsted of Philadelphia. Their activities, however, were not limited to this field, particularly in the case of David who had large dealings in the Indian trade. The Amherst Correspondence, however, is concerned almost entirely with them as purveyors to the British forces.

The information ranges from 1759 to 1763; that for 1762 and 1763 records most fully their various undertakings. The volumes dealing specifically with victualling matters contain the most detailed accounts and the most abundant. Volume 69 alone described as "The Correspondence between the

⁶⁴ W.O.34/91, F.275.

Commander in Chief & Various Contractors for Supply of Provisions," contains 49 separate references to them. It is an indication of the key position held by the Frankses as purveyors to the military forces. In all, 85 references occur. Considering these figures, it is safe to suggest that the Amherst Papers are one of the most important sources of information available, and a study of their contents is likely to be of value both for the subject in general and for the part played by the Frankses.

As regards the Frankses the letters may be summarized as follows. The terms of a contract can be studied from one which is given in full. Attendant circumstances, such as the general difficulties of the problem of transportation, among other matters, are vividly reported. A mine of information is, in fact, here available. Conditions in the various colonies, mentioned incidentally, as disagreeable factors to be dealt with, are suggestively touched upon. For example, the familiar tactics of merchants, of boosting prices when demand is high, were then, as now, stumbling blocks to the smooth working of the machinery. It is interesting, as well as illuminating, to read what steps were taken to circumvent the unscrupulous Philadelphia merchants. News items trickle through, some of special significance in the light of subsequent events. One contract reads, "Sealed in North America where no stamp paper is now used." A sharp corner was safely turned at this moment; but it was nevertheless a portent of things to come. Particularly, in this matter of the latent (more or less) friction between the home country and the colonies these letters have much to say. Amherst's refusal, on one occasion, to allow provisions to the provincial troops, because they had done nothing to quell the recent disturbance, shows the temper of mind of both sides, in 1763. A still stronger indication of official opinion, hardly calculated to make for amity, is seen in the blunt statement of Amherst that he cannot agree to an escort of Provincials, as it would require the

King's provisions; and inasmuch as he does not consider them soldiers, he cannot agree to this. Movements of troops can be studied, what military alignments were made. In fact, so close was the connection of the Frankses with the course of events that theirs was a position of peculiar salience from which to report on them.

To run through the letters chronologically. For 1759, the chief item is the contract between the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, and Colebrooke, Nesbitt and Franks, for North America, under date of December 20—the earlier contract with Baker and Kilby having lapsed.⁵⁵ The following year, under eight entries, various transactions are described, such as supplying the troops intended to serve on the frontiers of Pennsylvania.⁵⁶ For 1761, nine entries are cited, some of which relate to particular clauses in the contract,⁵⁷ some dealing with the incidence of risk,⁵⁸ others extending the contract to further outposts,⁵⁹ one to unavoidable delays in the transport of provisions,⁶⁰ and still another to internal difficulties in Virginia.⁶¹ In 1762, there are 29 references. Difficulties are still further emphasized, particulars being mentioned which throw into clear relief under what conditions the machinery of victualling operated. A flood occurring at Pittsburgh had washed away huge quantities of salt necessary for the preservation of pork.⁶² Negotiations to settle the value of goods on the transfer from the old contracts to the new⁶³ required the attention of two arbitrators. The agent of Plumsted and Franks in Virginia is asked to victual the troops ordered to march in the Virginia regiment to Fort Lewis.⁶⁴ It is in this year that the difficulty, previously al-

⁵⁵ W.O.34/72, F.171.

⁵⁶ W.O.34/66, F.1.

⁵⁷ W.O.34/1, F.225, 229.

⁵⁸ W.O.34/68, F.153.

⁵⁹ W.O.34/66, F.100.

⁶⁰ W.O.34/72, F.311.

⁶¹ W.O.34/69, F.165.

⁶² W.O.34/69, F.166, 242.

⁶³ W.O.34/66, F.129.

⁶⁴ W.O.34/69, F.243.

luded to, with the Philadelphia merchants occurred. This is set forth in five letters.⁶⁵ Amherst's threat lay to an embargo on the port turned the trick, and a reasonable market price was finally arrived at, for which the preliminary step of calling a meeting by order of the Governor was necessary. The item dealing with Jacob Franks⁶⁶ occurs in this year, and concerns the shipping of a quantity of flour and bread for the use of the fleet at Jamaica. Mention is made of the arrival of troops at Philadelphia from the Havannah⁶⁷ after its capitulation to the British, which necessitated a large supply of provisions from Plumsted and Franks. Thirty-eight items are found in 1763. One elucidates an observation, mentioned in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, that "it is not unlikely that the stores which Gladwin was so eager to convey to Detroit in 1763 . . . were purveyed by Franks. He undoubtedly supplied for Fort Pitt and other north-western posts."⁶⁸ The inference is fully borne out in the correspondence⁶⁹ which, under date of 24 January, gives the contract between Amherst and Plumsted and Franks as agents for Colebrooke and Nesbitt of London, designed "to reduce under one head the many expences attending the transportation and supply of provisions for the troops in the province of Pennsylvania, from Fort Pitt, to the inhabited country, including Fort Cumberland." In connection with this contract, a further letter⁷⁰ states that Amherst "will not be liable in his person or Estate under the said contract."

Technicalities naturally receive due attention. It is in this year, also, that Amherst's dictum not to agree to an escort of Provincials occurs.⁷¹ Occasionally, one of the partners working

⁶⁵ W.O.34/32, F.187; W.O.34/69, F.182, F.253, F.186, F.255.

⁶⁶ W.O.34/30, F.439.

⁶⁷ W.O.34/69, F.203.

⁶⁸ David E. Heineman, in *Publications, supra*, no. 13, pp. 54-55.

⁶⁹ W.O.34/69, F.204.

⁷¹ W.O.34/69, F.276.

⁷⁰ W.O.34/69, F.206.

a contract would himself visit a post to superintend the delivery of goods, and his observations of conditions there, made on the spot, would be reported to the Commander in Chief.⁷² Finally, it may be mentioned for passing interest that one letter in this year's correspondence is in the writing of David Franks himself.⁷³ It informed Amherst that the rumour that a route had been cut off was quite without foundation.

CONCLUSION.

From this survey of the Amherst Papers it is safe to suggest that Jewish participation was a factor of considerable importance in colonial development, though in general discussions of Colonial subjects mention is seldom made of the part played by Jews. True, in special studies, the Jewish rôle in colonial America has not passed without notice, as witness the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, to name a primary source of information on this head. But a comparison of the records published there and elsewhere with the rich documentary evidence of the present Amherst Papers indicates a more widespread and more complex participation than has hitherto been suspected. The Amherst Papers definitely extend the range of information concerning Jewish colonial enterprise, and are thus deserving of special attention. In one vital respect, that of army contracts and victualling, they show the Jews in a position ap-

⁷² W.O.34/69, F.226.

⁷³

Phila Oct 7, 1763
6 O'Clock Evening

SIR

The Inclosed Letters this Moment Came to hand with directions to Forward them by Express, if Post shd be gone, which I now doo,

It is with pleasure I find the Report of the Rout being Cutt off groundless, which report I took the Liberty to Acquaint your Excellency with,

DAVID FRANKS

proaching a controlling importance. In the actual fighting of the colonial wars they reveal a surprising number of Jewish combatants, even a few with military rank—a fact to be specially noted, in view of the hitherto meagre knowledge on this subject. In still another case, they strongly suggest that a Jew, Abraham Gold, played a part in the civil machinery. Finally, they add to the list of those known to have engaged in that most hazardous of pursuits, the Indian trade.

From these gleanings, a striking picture, and one adding not a little to our previous knowledge, emerges of the rôle of the Jew in colonial America.

ROWLAND GIDEON, AN EARLY BOSTON JEW, AND HIS FAMILY.

BY LEE M. FRIEDMAN, A.B., LL.B.

In 1674, in Boston's first tax list appears the name of Rowland Gideon "Ye Jew" rated at 18 shillings. By 1674 he was so much at home in the activities of that thriving seaport that he appeared before its court in association with one Barruch (Baruh) to collect from a reluctant debtor a balance of £100 arising out of a tobacco transaction. With an experience which indicated no amateur hand in approaching early Colonial courts not yet dominated by professional lawyers he naively presented his pleadings suggesting that in "comitinge my case to the honn^d court & Gentlemen of the Jurye praing for the prosperity of your Govern^{mt}" he would remind them that "God command ou^r Fathers that the Same Law should bee for the Stranger & Sowjournner—as for the Israellits".

Behind this somewhat meagre incident lies a romantic family history stretching from the fourteen hundreds into living times, covering much of typical Jewish family history as well as the flavor of Jewish wanderings into many lands.

The de Pinas were in the fifteenth century one of the prominent Jewish (Marano) families of Lisbon. In 1599 Paul de Pina set forth from Lisbon to visit Rome where, it was said, he proposed to become a monk. On his way, at Leghorn, he visited a family friend, Elijah Montalto, a famous Jewish polemist and later physician to the Court of France. From this visit Paul turned back to Lisbon a confirmed Jew. Later with a kinsman, Diego Gomez, he emigrated to Brazil. Thence he moved to Amsterdam where he joined the synagogue of that city and assumed the Jewish name of Reuel Jessurum. He became an author of distinction. This Reuel Jessurum had a daughter, Sarah, who was the mother of our Rowland Gideon.

The Gideon-Abudiente family, originally from Lisbon, was distinguished for its great culture and had given to the world poets, grammarians and theologians, besides outstanding merchants and leaders in the Jewish communities. Moses Gideon Abudiente, son of Gideon Abudiente, when a young lad, early in the sixteenth century was sent from his native Lisbon by his Marano family to Amsterdam to be educated. In the Holland of that day, since Jews could openly practice their Judaism which Portugal at that time did not tolerate, the Dutch branch of the Abudiente family were professed Jews. Perhaps as an incident of his education the youthful Moses Abudiente married the aforementioned Sarah, daughter of the de Pina family. After living for a time in Glückstadt in Holstein Moses Gideon Abudiente and his wife settled in Hamburg. There he achieved a reputation, more than local, as a man of learning and an author of distinction. He wrote poetry, a Hebrew grammar and theological works, and died in 1688 leaving, amongst his large family, a son, Rehiel (Rehuel) Abudiente, who anglicized his name to Rowland (Roel) Gideon.

In the seventeenth century the European demand for sugar was so great that the sugar trade offered vast possibilities for great fortunes. The early Jewish settlers in Spanish and Portuguese America quickly drifted into the sugar trade both as merchants and planters. Many of the great Jewish merchants eagerly sent out to America the cadets of their family to be sugar planter and traders there to seek their fortunes. No record is available to trace how Rowland Gideon came to America but there can be little doubt that he joined relatives in the Barbados where the Gideon-Abudiente family had already attained some importance.

Barbados had been settled by Jewish pioneers as early as 1625. They had come not only from Europe but from the earlier American settlements in Brazil, Surinam, and Martinique. Barbados early assumed a considerable commercial

importance contributed to it, in no small measure, by the activities of its Jewish immigrants. Both as planters and traders its Jews were important factors not only in its sugar but also in molasses, tobacco and rum. Their vessels carried on a lively trade not only with other English settlements in North America but as well with their French, Danish, Spanish and Portuguese neighbors and at the same time had important European connections through their kinsmen.

Thus this Jewish community grew so increasingly prosperous and important that in 1655 the Barbados Government on their petition granted recognition "that behaving themselves civilly and doing nothing to disturb the peace, they shall enjoy the privileges and laws of the Island relating to foreigners and strangers." By 1679 a synagogue had been established and that small and insignificant island became a center of influence amongst the Jews scattered throughout the far flung settlements of our western hemisphere. Today little of all this remains—hardly the vestige of a Jewish community—and almost no outward signs survive except the name "Jew Street" in the town of Bridgetown to mark the accomplishment of these early merchants and planters.¹

It is easy to imagine how, as a young unmarried member of an important merchant family, Rowland Gideon was sent to the West Indies as his family's representative. In the prosperous Barbados Jewish community, amongst family and friends, an attractive young man enjoyed a life that was not all work and hardships. Indeed, there is the tradition that the youthful Rowland in some way his family did not altogether approve managed there to entangle himself in debt.

There is no record of how Rowland Gideon came to settle in the little Boston town of 1674. We imagine that Boston, a promising seaport and a growing trade center, with a

¹ See, however, E. D. C[oleman], "Bridgetown, Barbados," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 34, pp. 275-278.

reputation for austere living, seemingly far off, appeared to offer a safe haven of exile, free from temptations, for Gideon. Few records remain of Gideon's residence in Boston. We do not even know how long he remained there. While in Boston the traces of his activities are found in its court records. Other than the suit to which attention has already been called we find that one Joseph Tebo was before the Suffolk County Court in 1674 for stealing from Gideon and one "Daniel Barrow" "nine pounds in money and two gold rings valued at three pounds" and that after being found guilty and duly "whipt wth twenty stripes" and fined forty shillings Tebo was delivered into the custody of Gideon and Barrow. Again in 1675 as co-plaintiff with Daniel Baruh, Gideon allowed a suit against the wealthy litigious Boston Quaker Nicholas Moulder to be non-suited for want of prosecution.

The fact that Gideon was associated in these three different transactions with the same person leads to a surmise that the connection between the two was more than casual, and that they were probably partners or otherwise somewhat permanently connected in business. Especially does this receive confirmation in the fact that the name of Baruh or Barrow had been adopted by one of the distinguished Jewish families of Barbados—the Louzada.² Aaron Baruch Louzada was one of the leading Jewish merchants of Bridgetown while his brother, Moses Barro (Barruh), was one of the Jewish residents of London in the time of Cromwell and an enrolled broker of the city of London. The members of this prominent Jewish family had anglicized their names to Barrow, Burrough or Baruch and were considerable landowners in Jamaica. While no Daniel Barru or Barrows has been identified in the

² See Wilfred S. Samuel, "Review of the Jewish colonists in Barbados," in *Jewish Historical Society of England, Transactions*, vol. 13. In 1848 the Spanish dukedom "do Losada y Lousada" was revived for Isaac Louzada. See Lucien Wolf, *Essays in Jewish history*, London, 1934, pp. 214-215.

list of Barbados Jews,³ it may fairly be assumed that Rowland Gideon's business associate was a youthful member of this

³ In "The Original Lists of Persons of Quality . . . 1600-1700. . . ." edited by John Camden Hotten. London, 1874, a "List of the Inhabitants in and about the Towne of St. Michael's with their children hired Seruants, Prentices, bought Seruants and Negroes" is given. In the list amongst "The Jewes" appear the names of:

	Children	Slaves
Aron Barruch	5	5
Abraham Barruch	3	3
Rebecah Barruch	1	1

See *Publications, supra*, no. 1, pp. 105-106.

In a list of subscribers for David Levi's *The order of the Form of Prayers*, London, 1789-1793, appeared the names of:

Judith Barrow, Esq., Barbadoes,
 Rebecca Barrow, "
 Sarah Barrow, "

See *Publications, supra*, no. 6, p. 154. The date 1773, given on p. 154 is incorrect, and should be 1793. See "Bibliography of G. A. Kohut," item 141, by E. D. Coleman, in *Jewish studies in memory of George A. Kohut*, New York, 1935, p. xxvii.

In the "List of wills of Jews in the British West Indies prior to 1800" by Samuel Oppenheim in *Publications, supra*, no. 32, pp. 55-64, there appears

	In Barbados
Aaron Baruh Lowzada	1695
Rachel Baruh Lowzada	1703
David Baruk Louzada	1740
David Baruh Lozado	1759

Barbados wills proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury, London
 Abig. Baruh Lousada, 1790, in 194 Bishop

Jewish Testators whose wills are on Record in the Office of the Island Secretary, Jamaica

Jacob Ysidro Barruh, 1731

Jamaica wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Somerset House, London

1752, Jacob Baruh Lousada, in 271 Bettsworth

1769, Dan. Baruh Lousada, in 355 Bogg.

See also "Jew Brokers of the City of London," by Dudley Abrahams, in *Jewish Historical Society of England, Miscellanies*, part 3, pp. 80-94.

family. It is interesting to note that years later Gideon named his eldest daughter "Barah".

In 1679 Rowland was a passenger "in the Ketch Phoenix of Antegoa" and in that same year was granted by the British Government letters of denization under which he had the right to reside in any English colony. Five years later we find him living with a wife, Bathsheba, on the island of Nevis.⁴ While settled at Nevis he appeared to have been one of the victims of the French invasion of that Island. Although his plantation suffered from these depredations he managed to resettle his plantation and was one of the inhabitants of that unhappy island ultimately to share in the £103,003 indemnity appropriated in 1711 by the English Government to compensate the proprietors and planters of Nevis and St. Christopher for damages suffered at the hands of the French. Later, however, he returned to Barbados where, in 1692, he appears listed as "Roel Gidion" amongst "The Jews' Plantations and Houses".⁵ Thence he emigrated to London where in 1694, after the decease of his wife, Bathsheba, he married again Esther do Porto, a prominent member of the London Marano community.

In 1697-8 he was admitted a liveryman of the Painter & Stainer's Company and as a consequence received the freedom of the City of London, thus becoming the first Jew to be so honored.⁶ This was a rather extraordinary distinction for a

⁴ Was this a second marriage? In the list of marriages solemnized by Rabbis of Dutch-Portuguese Jewish Congregation at Surinam 1642-1750 we find Reuhel Obidente and Rahel da Fonseca, *Publications, supra*, no. 18, p. 190, but we have not been able to find the record of any marriage to Bathsheba.

⁵ Public Record Office C. C. 137/2 No. 112 II.

⁶ The records of the Painters' Company are as follows:

Copy Entry in Freemans Book: Gideon Rowland—By Redemption. Feb. 17th 1697.

Copy entries in Minute Book. 17th Feb. 1897: Rowland Gideon admitted a Freeman by Redemption. paid "12 to be excused all offices and to pay Quarteridge.

Jew, since at that date it was generally held that Jews were ineligible both for admission to such corporations or for the freedom of the City of London. For years he carried on business as a West India merchant. In 1701 he was Hatan Torah of the ancient synagogue of London, Bevis Marks, and the following year, 1702, became its treasurer and was so serving the year in which its new synagogue was opened.

In 1713 and 1714 he took an active part in appearing in London before the Commissioner for Trade and Plantations as representative of the sufferers from Nevis in establishing his own and his fellow sufferers' claims against the funds which were then being distributed to compensate them for their French war losses. He died in London on April 5, 1722, and was buried in its old Jewish Bet Hayim cemetery. His grave stone bears the following inscription:

מצבת
קבורת הגביר הישיש הנכבד
כהר רועיאל אבודיאנימי נל"ע
יום א שני של חול המועד של
פסח יח לחדש ניסן התפכ
תנצבה

Sa

Do bemaventurado ROHIEL
ABUDIENTE que fuy DEOS
servido recolher desta para
[sua] Santa Gloria en Domingo
2º dia de Medianos de Pessah
18 Nissan 5482
S B A G D G

7th April 1698: Mr. Rowland Gideon having purchased his freedom of the City of London by Redemption was admitted into the freedom of this Company having paid to the Warden for the use of the Company the sum of *12. It was ordered that the sd. Rowland Gideon be admitted a Livery Man non attendant and that he be excused from serving all other offices and from all other duties (Quarteridge) only excepted.

Surviving him were four daughters and an only son, Samson⁷ Gideon, born in 1699, who inherited from his father's estate the sum of £7901, a large fortune for those days. Samson Gideon also succeeded both to his father's business as a West India merchant, as well as to his membership in the Painters' & Stainer's Company. This Samson Gideon was a remarkable man. He has been described as of great natural ability with a high sense of justice and honor, generous, intelligent, and of unremitting industry. He had a keen wit and a happy talent of expressing himself both in writing and conversation. To him is attributed the advice "never grant an annuity for her life to an old woman—they wither but they never die". John Nichols has described him: "He was a Jew broker the most considerable of his tribe, the great oracle and leader, of what used to be called Jonathan's Coffee-house in Exchange Alley, but has since been dignified, I suppose, by the more appropriate and characteristic name of The Stock Exchange in Threadneedle Street."⁸

As early as 1742 the English government began to consult him about financing. In 1749 he advised and carried through the consolidation of the national debt and a reduction of its rate of interest. His services in public finance were rendered without "any gratuity, fee or commission". Indeed in some quarters Samson Gideon has been given credit for being largely responsible for the financial stability which the government managed to maintain through the troublesome periods of the Jacobite rebellion and the "South Sea Bubble". As one of the outstanding members of the London Jewish community Samson Gideon was often regarded as one of the leaders in the Parliamentary struggle to pass

⁷ Sometimes written "Sampson".

⁸ In John Nichols, *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century*, vol. 9, p. 642.

the Jews' Naturalization Act of 1753 abolishing Jewish disabilities. His was one of the favorite and outstanding figures portrayed in the contemporary caricatures with which the enemies of the bill attacked its supporters and their Jewish sponsors. He retired from business in 1759 and died of dropsy October 17, 1762, at the age of 63. He left the huge fortune of £580,000.

With the growth of wealth Samson had become socially ambitious and withdrew from the synagogue although he himself never joined a Christian Church. Samson's wife was Jane Ermell, daughter of Charles Ermell, Esquire, a Christian. They brought up their children as Christians. Although his withdrawal from the synagogue separated him from the London Jewish community, he continued as long as he lived anonymously to pay his synagogue dues. By his will he left a legacy of £1000 to the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community of London, demanded that he be buried in the Jewish burying ground and commended his soul "to the gracious and merciful God of Israel".

Like so many self made men he had his weaknesses. He was dazzled by titles. He loved to consort with the great. Indeed he appointed the Duke of Devonshire one of his executors and named him residuary legatee should his children die without issue. Samson Gideon's ambition was to found a landed family. He acquired several considerable estates to that end, the most notable of which, Belvedere House in Kent, was described in a contemporary account as follows: "BELVEDERE HOUSE, this belongs to Sampson Gideon, Esq; is situated on the brow of a hill, near Erith in Kent, and commands a vast extent of a fine country many miles beyond the Thames, which is about a mile and half distant. This river and navigation add greatly to the beauty of this scene, which exhibits to the eye of the delighted spectator, as pleasing a landskip of the kind as imagination can form. The innumerable ships employed in the immense trade of London, are

beheld continually sailing up and down the river. On the other side are prospects not less beautiful, tho' of another kind. This gentleman has very judiciously laid out his grounds, and made many beautiful vistas. The house is but small, tho' an addition has been made of a very noble room."⁹

He was anxious to secure a baronetcy and pushed his claim for that reward with persistence. The Government refused him that honor. As a compromise, however, his son, Samson, grandson of our Rowland, born in 1745 was created a baronet in his fourteenth year (May 21, 1759). This Samson the younger was educated at Eton and in 1766 married the daughter of the Chief Justice of England, Sir John Eardley Wilmot. In 1770 he was elected to Parliament from Cambridge, and in 1789 was raised to the peerage, taking the title of Baron Eardley from his wife's family name. Young Samson's death without male issue ended his father's ambitious plans.

Of the great-grandchildren of Rowland Gideon, daughters of Samson, the eldest, Maria, married Baron Saye & Sele, the second Viscount Gage, and a third, the Prussian Count Von Gorsdorff-Hermsdorf. Amongst the descendants of this early Boston Jew were the twelfth Lord Saye & Sele; Gladstone's Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers; the wife of a former Duke of Norfolk; Admiral Eardley Wilmot; Sir Francis Freemantle, doctor and member of Parliament, Lord Auckland, and even an Irish rebel, Erskine Childers who, strangely, as the brother-in-law of Fiske Warren of the present distinguished Massachusetts Warren family, brings into the family cycle again a Massachusetts contact.

Lucien Wolf, the eminent historian, has written: "The memory of the old Abudientes is preserved in a very interesting way in the person of the late head of the Childers family,

⁹ London and its environs described, London, 1761, v. 1, p. 271.

Miss Rowlanda Childers, to whom, in default of a surviving male heir to her father, the family estates at Cantley, county York, descended. The name 'Rowlanda' is of course an anglicised and feminine form of the Hebrew 'Rehuel' the name of the father of Samson Gideon. To this day it may be heard in the old Sephardi Synagogue in Bevis Marks, when during services on the great Fast of Atonement, the name of Simson de Rehuel Abudiente is recited in the list of the dead on whose behalf the divine mercy is invoked."¹⁰

¹⁰ Lucien Wolf, *Essays, supra*. London 1934, p. 176.

MAX LILIENTHAL'S ACTIVITIES IN RUSSIA; NEW DOCUMENTS.

BY SAUL M. GINSBURG, D. JUR.

It is well known that Dr. Max Lilienthal spent six years in Russia before coming to America. For a short time he served as the first principal of the Jewish school in Riga (Livonia, then Russia) and as preacher there. A wider field of activity was soon opened to him. In the year 1840 the government of Czar Nicholas I decided upon a more thorough re-organization of the Jewish school system and the then minister of education, S. Uvarov, was ordered to set up a number of schools for the Jewish youth. Uvarov knew Lilienthal personally; they had previously met in St. Petersburg. He was well aware of the excellent reputation achieved by the Riga school under Lilienthal's direction. Accordingly, in 1841, he summoned him to the capital and commissioned him with the task of promulgating a comprehensive programme for the projected schools.

Uvarov knew well that only the "progressives," *Maskilim* or the "Berliners" (followers of Moses Mendelssohn's ideas of enlightenment), as they were variously known, were well-disposed towards these governmental schools, and that the great mass of the Jewish population were hostile to and suspicious of them, as missionary means to wean away the youth from Orthodox Judaism to the dominant Greek-Catholic faith. The instinct of national self-preservation, on one hand, and the general inimical policy of the Russian Government, on the other hand, had taught the bulk of Russian Jewry to look askance at an educational programme, sponsored by a government which oppressed them economically and offered, at the same time, to "enlighten" them.

Knowing this, Uvarov planned to induce Lilienthal to undertake first the necessary propagandist mission of popularizing the project among the Jews. Lilienthal was ignorant of the Government's hidden purposes. He did not know of the secret report of Uvarov to the Czar in which the schools were envisioned as tools to combat "the superstitions of the Talmud" and as means to bring the Jews nearer to Christianity. Deeming the Government sincere and upright, he assumed zealously to act the part assigned to him, that of a mediator between the Ministry of Education and the Jewish population. Accordingly, in 1841 and 1842, he set out upon a tour of the larger Jewish cities in Russia to popularize the educational institutions of the Government. Soon he learned the truth. He realized in disillusionment that Uvarov's school reforms were a blind for Russia's national and religious intolerance. In short, Uvarov had "fooled" him. He, thereupon, resigned his office and emigrated to America. There he entered upon a fruitful and honorable career as rabbi, pedagogue, journalist and communal worker. Concerning Lilienthal's activities in Russia much has been written.¹ Here we give but few facts, insofar as they pertain to the documents which are here made public.

¹ See David Philipson, *Max Lilienthal*, New York, 1915, chap. II, "The Russian career"; M. Morgulis, *Zur Geschichte der Bildung der russischen Juden* (in Russian), in *Yevreiskaja Biblioteka*, Bd. 1, St. Petersburg, 1871; L. Bramson, *Zur Geschichte der Anfangsbildung der Juden in Russland* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1896; L. Scheinhaus, *Ein deutscher Pionier (Dr. Lilienthals Kulturversuch in Russland)*, Berlin, 1911; J. Hessen, "Die russische Regierung und die westeuropäischen Juden, St. Petersburg, 1913; Saul M. Ginsburg, *Die russische Regierung und die Bildung der Juden in der ersten Hälfte des XIX Jahrhunderts*" (in Russian), Petrograd, 1923, in *Sammelbuch Minuvsheye*.

Concerning the establishment of the Jewish school in Riga, see A. Ehrlich, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Gemeindeschule zu Riga; ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte*, St. Petersburg, 1894.

DR. LILIENTHAL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIC SKETCH.

We know from the correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* that the Riga Jewish community established, in 1837, a modern school, with separate divisions for boys and girls. The following year, when the minister of education Uvarov visited that city, a petition was presented to him by the communal representatives in which he was asked to approve the said school. Since the dominant language among the Riga Jews was German it was suggested in the petition that the head-teacher of the new school had better be a foreign Jew who possessed the necessary pedagogic qualifications. Uvarov being favorably disposed, for reasons of his own, towards the founding of such a school, granted the Government's assent, on April 22, 1839. In July 1839 the community applied to Ludwig Philippson, editor of the *Allg. Zeit. d. Jud.*, and rabbi of Magdeburg, for his suggestion as to a possible candidate for the position of principal and preacher at Riga. Philippson recommended young Dr. Max Lilienthal of Munich, whom he knew personally and who was then a contributor to his periodical. Lilienthal was likewise enthusiastically recommended by A. Maltitz, the Russian ambassador to the Netherlands, previously a member of the Russian embassy at Munich. In his letter to Uvarov, Maltitz stated that "he knew Lilienthal at his best and had the most favorable information about him, as to his education and his moral and political principles." He considered him eminently qualified for the Riga position. Maltitz also requested Uvarov to grant Lilienthal a written permit to enter Russia.

Lilienthal arrived at St. Petersburg at the end of 1839. Together with all the credentials and recommendations from many eminent foreigners, he handed Uvarov an autobiographic sketch written in the third person in French. This notice, at present in the archives of the Russian Ministry of Education, has hitherto not been made public.² It is interest-

² A copy of the sketch was sent by the Ministry of Education to the school authorities in Livonia.

ing to note that in this notice Lilienthal gives November 6, 1814, as the date of his birth, while Philipson gives the date as October 16, 1815.³ Which of these is correct is difficult to determine. On Lilienthal's tombstone in Cincinnati the date is 1814 (the month is not stated). The notice is here reproduced as it is, without any change in spelling.

NOTICE BIOGRAPHIQUE.

Maximilien Eduard Emanuel Lilienthal, né le 6 Nov. 1814 à Munic, ville capitale du royaume de Bavière, reçut sa première éducation dans la maison paternelle. Sentant déjà dans sa première jeunesse une vocation particulière pour l'état religieux, il fut destiné par ses parens pour l'état rabbinique. Il obtint l'instruction de sciences élémentaires par des gouverneurs et plusieurs autres maîtres, et ne visita une école publique qu' à l'âge de 13 ans. Dans cet an 1826 il fut accueilli parmi les écoliers du nouveau gymnase à Munic, où il s'acquit l'amour et le contentement de tous les professeurs, et sortant de cet institut son application fut couronnée par trois primes, qu'il reçut dans l'histoire, la géographie, le style allemand et la langue française. Puis il visita l'université, qui se trouve dans la même ville. Eloigné de toutes les sociétés, qui s'y constituaient, écarté des toutes les compagnies, que les étudiants formaient et renouvelaient, il ne s'occupa que des études de la philosophie; et à l'examen qui eut lieu à la fin de la première année, où il était à l'université, parmi 337 concurrens, il recut seulement avec sept autres compagnons la note *éminence*, et par cette raison il fut recomandé à son Excellence le Ministre de l'intérieur. Puis il se chargea de l'étude de la Théologie et faisant son examen dans la langue hébraïque, syriaque, et chaldaïque, avec les règles principales desquelles il s'était familiarisé, il reçut la même note *éminence* et fut encouragé par ses professeurs, de continuer ces études avec la même application qu'auparavant, s'étant assuré qu'il avait quelques talens pour la connaissance de ces langues. Dès lors il s'adressa au gouvernement avec la pétition de lui accorder la permission, de subir l'examen des candidats rabbins, et l'ayant obtenu par la bienveillance et la bonté bien connues de notre ministère, il remporta aussi dans cet examen la note *éminence*. C'était dans ce tems, que son attention se dirigea vers les manuscrits hébraïques et chaldaïques, qui se trouvent à la bibliothèque royale à

³ D. Philipson, *supra*, p. 4.

Munic. Ce trésor, qui était encore tout inconnu à tous les hommes de lettres, fut publié par lui dans la *Gazette littéraire* qui parvint à Magdebourg sous la direction du Dr. Philippson, prédicateur de la commune israélite. Et ce travail fut accueilli avec tant d'éloges, que le consistoire israélite de Wurtemberg envoya le docteur Landauer, homme de lettres de beaucoup de mérite, pour examiner plus exactement et plus soigneusement les manuscrits, qui étaient en rapport à ses études particulières.

Encouragé par ce premier essai favorable, il pria le collège de l'université, de lui permettre encore un examen pour le nommer alors docteur en philosophie. Il fit l'examen au contentement de tous les examinateurs, défendit publiquement, le 17 Août 1838, ses thèses, et fut nommé le même jour docteur en Philosophie; et publia alors un traité sur l'origine de la philosophie des juifs d'Alexandrie et reçut en conséquence le diplôme de l'université.

Pendant ce tems le gouvernement royal et la commune israélite lui avait aussi accordé la permission, de tenir plusieurs oraisons religieuses à la Synagogue et il doit à l'indulgence et à la bonté de ses auditeurs l'encouragement, de publier les sermons, qui furent accueillis avec beaucoup d'amitié.

Il avait aussi commencé à écrire une histoire des juifs de Bavière, mais il était obligé d'interrompre ce travail, ayant été appelé à Riga en qualité de prédicateur et directeur de l'école israélite qui doit être fondée dans cette ville.

A LETTER OF THE VILNA ORTHODOX JEWS TO LILIENTHAL'S FATHER.

Already in 1841, during his first tour of the cities of the Pale of Settlement, particularly while in the city of Minsk, Lilienthal became aware of the unpopularity of his mission. The second tour during 1842 appeared to be more successful, as regards popular endorsement. A decree of the Russian Government had proclaimed its determination to attack radically the problem of Jewish education in Russia. It was made to appear that the Czar himself willed it so. One would judge from the contemporary reports, and particularly from the Russian correspondents of the *Allg. Zeit. d. Jud.*, that the second tour fell little short of a triumphal procession for Lilienthal and his cause. But these reports can be put down as

gross exaggerations. The apparent enthusiasm emanated from the few *Maskilim*. It was they who were responsible for the laudatory press reports. A group of them from Berditchev felt impelled to dispatch to Judah Lilienthal, father of Max, in Munich, a letter superlatively praising the son and his services to Russian Jewry.⁴ The Orthodox element refrained from open opposition to the projected school reforms. To do so would have been dangerous, in view of the Government's official sponsorship of the plan. They could only resist it passively. This is, in fact, how they acted.

To offset the effect of the letter sent from Berditchev, a group of Orthodox Jews in Vilna dispatched a letter of their own to the father. The letter in Hebrew expressed exactly opposite views about young Lilienthal's work. It recounted the position of Vilna as a great Jewish religious center, home of famous Talmudic academies, and a city renowned for its learning, saintliness and piety. Of late—so the letter continued—a few, determined to introduce heterodox doctrines and to uproot old Jewish ways and traditions, have come upon the Jewish scene in our city. These innovators have succeeded in ranging your son on their side, much to the distress and indignation not only of the Vilna community but those of Minsk, Bobroisk and other as well. The letter concluded with a plea to the father to induce his son to cease his dangerous efforts. The father is further requested to communicate their plea to the rabbi of Munich. The letter bore the signatures of ten leading citizens. It was apparently forwarded by the father back again to his son in Russia, who in turn forwarded a copy of it to the well-known Hebrew author and *Maskil* Mordecai Aaron Ginzburg. A few illegible signatures in the original were replaced in the copy by dots. Ginzburg's copy, in the hand of Max Lilienthal, seems to be a

⁴The letter of the Berditchev *Maskilim* in a German translation was printed in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, Bd. 6, pp. 715-716. A translation of it in English is in D. Philipson, *supra*, pp. 33-35.

faithful one; this is evident from a postscript in it, added by Lilienthal.

The letter described here has hitherto not been published. The original is not to be found among Lilienthal's papers. The copy here reproduced is from the documents of M. A. Ginzburg, part of my Archives.

יום ויו לחודש מנחם אב תר"ב. ווילנא.
אל תור המעלה. נכבד ונעלה. לזית חן. הודו כזית.
שמן תורק שמו. וריח לו כלבנון. החכם הכולל. הירא והשלם.
כק"ש מוה"ר יהודא ליליענטהאל. חסנו יהי נצח.
כוזהר הוד קרני שמש בעריפיה. ששה ושמחה במהלכה. לפתח
הרצובות נטעי מגדים. תדשן בצחצחה. מן הארז אשר בלבנון עד פטורי
ציצים היוצאים מן הקיר. תפיע מנהרה. להאדם הגדול בענקים. עד
הגמול עלי אמו. וכל יצורי חלד יתנו כבוד לה' על הברכה אשר הריקו
ארוכות השמים. ילאה פה כל אדם. לספר מפלאות תמים דעים.
ממרביות התועלת מטוב אורה. המסתעפת ממנה. שפעת רבבות טובות
לאין מספר.

כן יושבי תבל ומלואה. יתנו צדקות עירנו. מעת הוסדה. עד עתה.
במרביות חכמיה. ובתפארת גאוויה. ובהדרת מנהליה. ובהוד והדר
מיסדיה. דבר ידברו בראשונה לאמר. שאול ישאלו. כל דבר הקשה.
מחכמי ווילנא. וכן התמו.

והם הם הלכו למנוחות שנאנות. תנוח נפשם באור ה'. כעמלם
בתורת ה'. כן תגמולם. ואחרי אלה הורקנו מכלי אל כלי. וירדנו מטה
מטה. כי אספו כוכבים נגהם. ואין עוד חזון נפרץ. כי אפסו המסגרות.
אשר סגרו בדבר הלכה. ואין פותח. זאת עמדה לנו. מדרכם ותהלכם
בקדש. כי הניחו לנו ברכה. להשתעשע בנועם אמריהם. ולהלחם
במנעימיהם. ורדו דבש ממעונות אריות. מהררי נמרים ומשלחן גבוה
אצלנו לנו ברכה. בחין ערך סדר הלימוד. וגזרו עלינו לאמר. זה הדרך
לכו בו.

ועצתם עצת ה' היא תקום. כעמלם בגיגנו. כן הקמנו תהלה לאל.
לצעור אחרי עקבותיהם. לייסד עמוד התורה כמאוייהם. וקבלנו עלינו
ועל זרעינו. לכל נסוג מדרכיהם. והודות לאל. כי רבו כמו רבו כמה
וכמה בתי מדרשות. מלאים ת"ח הוגים בדת אל. יומם וליל. ועומדים
על משמרתם. משמרת עבודת הקודש. בעלי מקרא. בעלי משנה. בעלי
גמרא. בעלי הגדה. יתנו ריחם כריח השדה.

ומי יוכל לספר מחין ערך הנכבדות המדובר מהישיבות דפה.
גדולות וקטנות. כולם דשנים ורעננים על פלגי ים התלמוד. ופוסקים.
ישבנו כל רעבי מדע. שמה יקוננו כל כמה לדבר ה'. שמה ישברו
פראים צמאם. הנערים אשר מרחוק ידאו לחסות בצל החכמה שמה
ישבו שרי תורה. גבוה מעל גבוה. להטיף מלים. בנחת ודשן. לתלמידים

הפוערים פיהם. לשמוע בקול מוריהם. כאשר פוערה אדמה למלֹקֹשׁ. שמה ישקו הרועים צאנם. ממבועי מים ההולכים לאט. ליישר הדורים. וכעת יאמר ליעקב. חדשות ונצורות. מנטעי נעמים. זרע ברך ה'. עודם באכם. רכים בשנים. ומלאים בחכמה. בקיאים בש"ס ופוסקים ושו"ת. כל רואיהם יכירום. כי יהיו מטע ה' להתפאר. חין ערך סדר לימודם. וטוב הגיונם. ויושר שכלם. יתנו עידיהן. כי נרדם יתנו ריח. וכל לב יעלז במ. ולאורם נלך באור החיים.

וכמה וכמה מהנגידים. גבוהים ורמים. אשר עלו על שלבי העליונים. מסולם הכבוד. בדשן העושר. ובהון עתק. בכל זאת. בידם אחת מחזיקים במסחרם. ובידם השניה ימלאו להסתפח בנחלת עברי ה' עם חברת אנשים צדיקים וטובים. בקביעות סדר לימודם מדי...

ומאלו האנשים אשר ברך ה' חילם. וזכו לשתי שלחנות (אשר מברכתם תרום קרת) מקדישים עתם לה' להסתופף בחצרות[יו] [ועוזבים סחרם] ומרכולתם. לבוא לבית ה' המיועד. יום אחד מדי חודש בחדשו. לסדר סדר המעמדות. ועבודת הקרבנות. ולהתבודד בר... בספרי מוסר. לדעת הדרך ילכו בה. ואת המעשה אשר יעשון. הן אלה שמין שבח מגדול עוז קריתנו. יע"א. מי יוכל לספר ממבחר סגולותיה. ומי יוכל ערוך למלל מתפארת גזיה. ומקודש תהלוכה מוצאיה ומבואיה. תומתה וצדקתה. מחזקת באמונתה. בדת אל המורשה. הבאים ממרחק לבקש מזור ותרופה. ירפאו. וינוחו. כצל קורתה. אין [קץ] לנדיביה. ואין מספר למוריה. כל תמוט עולם עמודיה. כל יצען נצח יסודותיה. א"ס.

אי לזאת! יהמה לבינו. ותסמר שערות בשרינו. וגחלים ילהטו בקרבינו. ויילו דמע עפעפינו. כי נהפך גלגל בלהות צלמות. צלמות ולא סדרים. כי קמו אנשי מזמה. אשר רוח עושים עבר במ. האומרים שוא מעשה עם יעקב. תוהו נחלתו. אבותיכם איה הם. הורישו לכם דברי בלע. ואתם שונים באולתם. הרפו ממעשיהם. עזבו דרכיהם. פגרו מתהלכותיהם. נתקו והשליכו מוסרותיהם. חזו לנו חדשות. וישן תוציאו מפני חדש. והיסודות המורשה לכם מאבותיכם. תרחיקוה. ותחתם נחליף ונייסר לכם חדשות. וקמו הקושרים בסוד נעלמים. ובנועם מליהם. יסתירו רוע מעלליהם. וילכדו אנשים בחלק דבריהם. כזאבי ערב עטופים בכתנות עור כבש. כן טמון בחובם כל תרמית. וירומו ידם לנהל אותנו ברסן מתעה. הנשמע כזאת? מוכי העורון בסנורי הפתיות. ינהלו זכי הראות. הנראה כזה? מסובכים על פרק פיגולם. יניעו ראש על הדרת הזקנים. אשר לא עמלו בתורה. ולא נוגה עליהם אור התלמוד ומשוטתיה. ינופפו זרועם על מלאים תבונה. לייסר חדשות. אשר לא שערום אבותינו. ולא נשמע בגבולינו.

אנת וולנא! קרתא רבתא. גברת הקריות. מרביץ הוד החכמה. מעון אריות. בוא בצור והטמן בעפר. בוש וכלמי. איך נהפכת לסורי הגפן נכריה? עלו כך קמשונים. כסו פניך חרולים. סרבים וסלונים אתך. אבותינו הקיצו. עורו מורינו. פקחו עיניכם גאונינו. הביטו

לראות כעת מנהלינו? מנהלינו? מחריבנו. מייסדנו? מהרסנו. מחזקי מבצרינו? מחריבי ארצנו. נוחי נפש. שובו לבצרון. מה תמצאו בה. תמצאו בני מרון. חוה וקימוש תחת הדר הכרמל והשרון. צחנת כסילים. מדור אוילים. תחת פלילים. תחת עומד בפרץ. בא בא—הקרץ. והנה כל זאת באתנו להודיעכם. כי לא נוכל להתאפק. מרוב תבערות האש היוקדת בקרבינו. מרשפי אש שלהבת יה. כי יחם לבנו. על בנו השלם וי"א. כליל בחכמה. חותם תכנית ויראת ה' חופף עליו. כ"ש מו"ה מנחם ליליענטהאל יופיע. שמעו הטוב שמענו מכבר. ועתה בהיותו פה עמנו. לא מצאנו בו שמץ תעתוע מעוות דרכם. אך הם הם. בראותם כי בנינם יפול. אשר עמלו בו. ונכזבה תוחלתם. אשר כלו עיניהם מייחל. הסיתוהו וגם יכלו לו. להיות ידו עמהם. וזרועו המושלה תאמצם. להפיק זממם. ולייסד עצתם. להתעולל עלילות ברשע. ואף כי לבו טהור. וחרף מפשע. הדיחו גם אותו. בחלק שפתותיהם. (יכרת ה' כל כו') בראותו כי גם בנינו נהרס. אז עלה עשן חמתו. ולבש בגדי קנאה ודופי תחת לבושו אשר היה כליל יופי. להתקשר במעדנות בנים לא אמן בם.

אשר על זאת לבשנו שריון וקשקשים. והחזקנו מגן וצנה. בברק מכתבינו. לירות זיקי אמת. וחיצי אמרות נמרצות. למול הדרת כבוד תפארתו. כי שמענו שמעו הטוב. לאיש אוהב צדק ומשפט. יעשה זאת לכבוד ה'. ותורתו. ולמען קנאת האמת. להסיר מעלינו סבל בנו. ולנתק מוסרות הברית אשר בינם. כי הציבו אותו כמטרה לחץ. לקצץ נטיות השתולים בבית ה' ולהפך הקערה על פיה. מקום הצדק והמשפט. יחפצו להקימו לפרח הזדון. מקום אומני וגידולי הנערים. לגדלם ולחכמם בתורת ה'. יחפצו ליקח בזרועם. להפיק מזימותם. ולדים נבערים מדעת. יאוו ללמדם ספר ולשון. אשר לא נסו באלה. ולא קרבו אל המלאכה הכבדה הזאת. יהיו קרח מכאן וקרח מכאן. וכל הדאחאדין אשר יסדו אבותינו. ליסוד מוסד להחיות נפשות. השוקדים בתורת ה'. יירצו לייסד על זה. וח"ו תפוג תורה. ולומדיה כליל יחלפו ח"ו. באין משען ומשענה.

ומי האיש אשר לא יחפוץ מלט נפשו. מיקוד האש. הבושר בקרבינו. אשר בנו הצית בנו. בחדשות אשר רוצה לחדש לנו. כי לא עלינו לבד עבר רוח קנאת האמת. כי אם בכל מקום אשר נשמע זאת. לבות ישראל ידוו על זה. כי בבואו למינסק ק"ק. מלאה חכמים ונדיבים. בשמעם החדשות. בקשו לרגום אותו. ש.....ם קללוהו. ברהובות קריה. ואנו אם כי מתחלה הסכמנו לזה. בעת ששלחנו אחריו בעת אסיפתנו. כי חשבנוהו לנאמן רוח. באמרו כי [מאת] הממשלה יצאה זאת. (יכון ממשלתה כימי השמים על הארץ) אך אחרי כן נתוודע. כי הם הם פתוהו. הם הם הסיתו אותו. עד שעבר עליו רוח קנאה לאמר. ידעו ישראל. הנותנים כתף סוררת. הקשיחו לבם משמוע אמרי. אנקמה מהם. בזרועי המושלה. ומה יתהלל הנסיך בנשיאותו אם כחצר של מלכו של עולם שקר נסכו. כי בשם ה' נדגלנו. באסיפה רבה. ראו ראינו

כי נחש כרוך בעקבו. ואם כי שמענו מבנו השלם וי"א שחפץ בטובת הכלל. הם דרכו חצם דבר מר. לירות בחגיו לבו. החף מפשע. וכבר אמרו חז"ל טובתן כו' והאל הטוב ייטיב. להטובים בלבבותם. ומאותו נקבל הטוב.

האם תמס כעש חמודינו? ואבדה ח"ו תקותינו? וכבודינו לעפר ישכון סלה? גדול העצה. יפר עצתם. רב העלילה. יניא מחשבתם. אך על אבדן בנו. אנו מצירים. כי הם הם יטוהו מעט מעט. עדי יובילוהו. בשימון דרך. אורח ברגליו לא ישוב ממנה. כי זה פרי תפארת. לאנשי לצון. אשר ימשיכו אצלם הטוב והישר. למען חזק קשרם. וכמאמר חז"ל אל תדור בשכנציב. משום דמשכי לך בליצנותא. ואמרינן בגמרא (סנהדרין ק"ב) מפני מה נכסי צדיקים שבתוכה אבודים. מי גרם להם זאת. מחמת שדרו אצלם. לפיכך ממונם אבד. והתנא האלהי הזהיר אל תתחבר כו'. והרמב"ם בפ"ד מה"ת חשב בהדי כ"ד דברים שמעכבין התשובה. מתחבר לרשע כו'.

מה מאוד נעמו דברי הרד"ק ז"ל שפירש ע"ד הפשט. על הפסוק הן ישא איש בשר קודש (חגי ב) וגו' ופי' ששאל אם יגע קודש בכל אלו. היוכל הקודש למשוך אצלו. ואמרו לא. אבל הטומאה הפך מזה. שמושכת אצלה. ע"ש. וכמאמר חז"ל ע"פ וטמא טמא יקרא. וכדאמרינן בגמ' עליה וגו' וראש החכמות אמר (משלי ג' ז') ירא את ה' וסור מרע. ירצה בזה. אל תתחכם לומר זכיתי לבי ולא אלקך.

שתסור מהם מכל ואל תקרב אל פתח בספר החינוך כתב בפ' בא (מצוה ט"ז) וז"ל ואל תחשוב בני וכו' ועתה בני בינה זאת. כי האדם נתפעל כפי פעולותיו. ולבו וכל מחשבותיו תמיד אחר מעשיו כו' ואפי' רשע גמור וכל מחשבותיו רק רע כל היום. אם יערה רוחו וישים השתדלותו בתורה ובמצוות. מיד יטה אל הטוב כו' ואפי' אם יהיה צדיק גמור. ולבבו ישר ותמים. אם יעסוק תמיד בדברים של דופי. ישוב לזמן מן הזמנים. מצדקות לבו. להיות רשע גמור כו'. לכן אתה ראה גם ראה. מה מלאכתך. ומה מעשיך. כי אחריהם תמשך. ואתה לא תמשכם אצלך. ואל יבטיחך יצרן לאמר. אחרי היות לבי תמים באמונת אלהים. מה הפסד יש בי. כי אתענג לפעמים בתענוגי אנשים. לשבת בשוקים וברחובות. להתלוצץ עם הלצים. ולדבר צחות. וכיוצא באלו הדברים שאין מביאין חטאות ואשמות. הלא גם לי לב כמוהם. קטני עבה ממתניהם. ומדוע ימשכוני אחריהם. אלא בני השמר מפניהם פן תלכד ברשתם. רבו כמו רבו אשר שתו מכוס תרעלותם. ואתה את נפשך תציל. עכ"ל.

אם לנו כואב לבינו. ובאה מועקה במתנינו. על עומת בנו שלם וי"א. כי עזב דרכי הטוב. והמירה במעקלות. איך לא יחם לבבכם. על בנכם (הנצב לריב עם קהל עדת ישראל) להצילו ממהומות הריב. מיקור האש. אשר הגדיל לעשות המדורה. אש בקרב לבינו עצורה. ואם תחשו בזה. ומצאתם עון. פן ואולי ח"ו יצא מזה קצף על עמינו. (כאוות הבווערים המחכים לזה) אשמת ישראל ח"ו תהי' עליכם. ואנחנו נהיה נקיים.

לכן נזרקה מפי חבורה קדישא. עדה תמימה. ובצירוף אנשי אמת. מנהלי ערת ישרון. דפה עירנו וולנא יע"א. לשפוך שיחם. מול לבו הטהורה. ולבקש ולהתחנן על נפשם. מול כבוד הדרתו. יטה אזנו לשמוע אמרי אמת. אמרי יושר. ויעשה זאת לכבוד ה' ולכבוד תורתו. להשקיט אש המדון. ולככות תבערות האש. וישנם מתניו להחיש מעשיהו לכתוב אליו. כגזירות כבוד אב. שירה מעשהו. ויעזוב בנינו. ולא יחדש לנו חדשות. וינתק מוסרות הברית עם אנשי עצתו. וביחוד אנו מחלים ומבקשים. את פני הרב המא"ה. ראב"ד דקהלתכם. כק"ש מו"ה צבי הירש. שגם הוא יופיע בהדר גאוונו. ובצדקת לבו. לכתוב אליו דברי כבושין. דברי אמת. ככל אמרותינו הנאמרים באמת. ובזה יסור עצבונינו. וכאב לבינו. וישקט רעיונינו. ויניח אותנו על מקומינו. ויושר דרכינו. אשר הניחו לנו אבותינו. מורינו וגאוונינו. והי' לכם זאת לשם עולם. לעשות בינינו שלום. ותקבלו השלום. מאלהי השלום. החפץ בשלום עבדיו ויראיו. ונזכה לראות הבנין במרום הרים. להעלות על מזבח ה' כבשים ופרים. עולות מחים וכרים. כ"ב אמן. המדברים לכבוד ד' ותורתו. דורשי האמת והשלום. חפצים בטובת כלל ישראל.

נאום שאול חיים בלא"א הרב מו"ה יעקב ראפאפארט
ונאום א. בהגאון מהורר משה זלה"ה משטיינהארט
ונאום אליעזר נח בלא"א מ"ו מוהר"ר ישראל היילבערן
ונאום אברהם דובער במהורר. . . . סגל הורוויץ
ונאום שמואל במ"ה מאיר סאפיאן
ונאום יהודה שמעון במה"ו יעקב חיי'
ונאום יעקב בער בלא"א הרב הגדול מהר"ר אליעזר שולמאן זלה"ה
ונאום פינחס. . . . במהורר חיים גאלדשטיין
ונאום אברהם במ"ה חיים יעקב לאהנא
ונאום אנשיל במהורר ישראל זאב אה"ה שאפירא
אולי יעלה ברצונו להשיבנו ימחול לשלוח על אדרעם של ראשי
הקהל דפה ק"ס.

A LETTER TO M. A. GINZBURG

Mordecai Aaron Ginzburg (b. 1795, Salant, province of Kovno; d. 1846, Vilna) is properly regarded as the founder of Neo-Hebraic Literature in Russia. His "Discovery of America" (גלות ארץ החדשה) Vilna, 1823, was the first Hebrew book of a purely secular character printed in Russia. His later works were largely in the field of history. The first volume of his "Universal history" (תולדות בני אדם) 1835; "History of Russia" (עתותי רוסיה) 1839; "History

of Napoleon's invasion of Russia" (הצרפתים ברוסיה) 1842, and his other works did much to enlarge the vision of the Russian Jewish reading public and to popularize the knowledge of general history among them. Hebrew literature was enriched by him in many new forms and *genres*. His style, unornamented and simple, minus the usual rhetoric and bombast, may well serve even now as a model of simplicity and directness. He was, therefore, considered one of the most prominent of the Vilna Jewish *intelligentsia* of his day. Besides, he was unqualifiedly respected in all circles of the *Maskilim*.

It was most natural for Lilienthal to meet Ginzburg during his stay in Vilna, to earn his friendship and to enter into correspondence with him. Several letters from L. to G. are in my possession. One of them, in the German original, was published in *Ost und West*, Jahrg. 10, col. 379-382, and in a Russian translation in *Perezhitoe*, vol. 2. Here we make public another one, dated Riga, June 30, 1841. The burden of the letter, which was an acknowledgment of the "Universal history" sent by the author in manuscript to L., is the hope and certainty of tolerance and brotherhood among all creeds and races, which animated the Jewish age of enlightenment of the last century. This letter, among my M. A. Ginzburg documents, has until now remained unpublished.

RIGA den 30 Juni 1841

Mein geehrter Freund!

Mit wahren Vergnügen habe ich den zweiten Theil Ihrer hebräischen Weltgeschichte, den Sie mir im Manuscripte zu überschicken die Güte hatten, und der das Mittelalter und die Neuzeit bis 1789 umfasst, durchgelesen. Sie haben damit die neuere jüdische Litteratur mit einem in Rücksicht auf die Sprache klassischen Werke bereichert; Sie haben Ihren anerkannten Verdiensten um den neuhebräischen Styl ein neues hinzugefügt; aber Sie haben sich hiedurch auch ein bleibendes Verdienst um die Bildung unserer russischen Glaubensgenossen erworben.—

Denn einmal ist die Geschichte an und für sich die Schule aller wahrhaften Bildung; die in ihr wirkenden Charaktere ziehen weder

an unserem Herzen, noch an unserer Seele spurlos vorbei; Erfahrung, Lebensweisheit, Seelenstärke, Ruhe im Sturm des Lebens und Würdigung derselben holen wir uns nur aus ihr. Und zweitens, ist ihre Kenntniss auch das einzige Mittel, das die Scheidewand zwischen Juden und Christen in bürgerlicher Beziehung niederreißen wird. Der Geist, erfahrend aus den Blättern der Zeiten, wie Fanatismus und Faustrecht dem Juden das Siegel der Schmach und der Entehrung aufdrückten, wird es in liebevoller Humanität ihm abnehmen, mit-leidsvoll überzeugt, dass nicht der Jude allein Schuld an seinem Unglücke sey;—der Jude hingegen, mit Erstaunen schauend, wie viel Grosses, Herrliches und Heiliges sich ausserhalb seines seit Jahrhunderten ewiggleich umgränzten Wirkungskreises zugetragen habe; mit Bewunderung betrachtend, was die Wissenschaft ausserhalb des talmudisch- encyklopädischen Wissens geleistet, wie höher und immer höher der Genius der Menschheit auf der grossen Stufenleiter gestiegen sey, wird bald den Drang in sich erspüren, an diesem grossen, die Menschheit verherrlichenden Werke Theil zu nehmen; wird selbst Hand anlegen, die mittelalterliche Scheidewand niederzureißen; wird selbst sehnsüchtig dem Augenblicke entgegenharren, in dem das Prophetenwort sich erfüllen wird: "Haben wir nicht Alle einen Vater, hat uns nicht Alle ein Gott geschaffen; warum sollten wir treulos handeln, Einer an dem Andern, zu entweihen den Bund unserer Väter."

Und wenn jener Augenblick gekommen seyn wird, an dem man den Menschen nicht mehr fragen wird: "In welchem Gotteshause betest Du? Sage es mir, damit ich Dir meine Liebe schenke, oder verweigere," sondern wo der Mensch im Menschen nur seine Gesinnung und seine Tüchtigkeit ehrt; da können Sie sich selbst das freudige Zeugniß geben: Auch ich habe daran gearbeitet, diesen grossen Tag zu nähern.

Darum habe ich Ihr Werk mit vieler Freude begrüsst, und freue mich, zeichnen zu können

Ihr ergebenster Freund

DR. LILIENTHAL.

THE MEMOIRS AND SCRAPBOOKS OF THE LATE
DR. JOSEPH ISAAC BLUESTONE OF
NEW YORK CITY.

BY HYMAN B. GRINSTEIN, A.M.

Dr. Joseph Isaac Bluestone was born in Kalwarja, Lithuania, in 1860. He received the customary Talmudic and *Haskalah* training and at the age of twenty he came to the United States. He studied medicine and practiced for many years on the lower East Side, numbering among his friends many of the Hebraists and the Jewish *intelligentsia* of the Russian-Polish migration period. Despite his participation in many communal activities, particularly in the Zionist movement, and his professional practice, he found time to write Hebrew poetry in the old *Haskalah* style. Many of these poems he published in Tel Aviv in 1931 under the title, *Shirim Umeshalim*.

Upon his death in 1934, Dr. Bluestone left in manuscript about 129 closely written pages of memoirs which commence with early childhood and end at the year 1910. An outline appended to these memoirs continues the narrative until 1930. It appears that he wrote the outline first, probably in 1930, and then began the memoirs. Death intervened and his autobiography remains uncompleted. In addition to these reminiscences, Bluestone left scrapbooks containing many items of interest which he collected during an active career. These consist of letters, clippings, manuscript minutes of organizations with which he was affiliated, briefs of speeches delivered, etc. The memoirs and the scrapbooks are in the possession of his family.¹

¹I am deeply grateful to the sons of the deceased for having given me access to the material left by their father. I am particularly obliged to Dr. Harry Bluestone for having read the memoirs with me and for the many explanations of difficult passages.

Both the outline and the memoirs proper are written in Yiddish. They are penned in an easy flowing style with many humorous incidents and anecdotes which enliven the narrative. They begin with Bluestone's early life in Europe, with his student days and his trip to America. Upon arrival here Bluestone essayed the rôle of small merchant, only to discover that he had no business ability. Using the teaching of Hebrew as financial support, he finally, despite many struggles and much discouragement, achieved in 1890 his early ambition of completing a medical course at New York University. He began immediately to practice on the lower East Side and soon became affiliated with the newly formed Beth Israel Hospital as a member of the Medical Board, retaining this connection until 1906.

We find Bluestone advocating the founding of a *Hibat Zion* movement,² soon after his arrival in this country. At a meeting of the *Hebra Dorshe Tov Leamam*,³ in 1882, Bluestone delivered an address in the interests of *Hovevai Zion*. This was almost immediately after the movement was launched in Europe. In a speech remarkable for the time, he advanced the view that in Europe *Hibat Zion* was necessary in order to spread the idea of Palestine as a haven of refuge for an oppressed people, but that in America Zionism should serve a spiritual purpose, as a safeguard against assimilation. This address was delivered on the 4th of July and an interesting parallel was drawn between Jewish nationalism and American freedom.

Soon thereafter, the first organized group of *Hovevai Zion* was formed in New York City, with Aaron Simcha Bernstein

² *Hibat Zion* or *Hovevai Zion* are terms used by the early Zionists for their interest in the Palestine colonization schemes of the 80's. It is a forerunner of political Zionism which virtually begins with Theodor Herzl and with the first Zionist Congress in 1897.

³ This society was formed by East European immigrants with the purpose of spreading "culture" among its members.

as president, Bluestone as vice-president, Asher L. Germansky⁴ as treasurer, Alexander Harkavy⁵ as secretary, and Joseph H. Cohen as financial secretary. The history of *Hibat Zion* in America in the next decade is vividly described in these memoirs. Difficulties beset the movement from the start. The ultra-Orthodox Jews would have nothing to do with what seemed to them an attempt to negate Messianism, while the radical labor leaders heaped ridicule and abuse on the efforts of Bluestone and his colleagues to spread Zionist propaganda. These activities had a checkered history. At one time there were two rival organizations in the field, both claiming to be the only *Hibat Zion* group. In 1884, however, they composed their differences and united under the name *Hebra Hovevai Zion*. Bluestone devoted most of his time to the interests of the movement. In 1886 he edited *Hovev Zion* a supplement to the *New Yorker Yiddisher Zeitung*, and in 1889 he issued the *Shulamith*,⁶ a Yiddish organ for Zionism and Palestinian colonization.

In 1884, the *Hovevai Zion* were much aroused over the famous Sampson Simson legacy of \$50,000 to any local society interested in the Palestinian *Yishub*. The *Hebra Hovevai Zion* took measures to secure this fund, since theirs was, as they claimed, the only society in New York at the time working in the interests of Palestinian development. Bluestone engaged an attorney and was ready to press the case when much to his surprise the charter of the society was read and the discovery made that the *Hovevai Zion* society was chartered to collect funds for the purpose of establishing

⁴Germansky was an East Side bookseller. See Eisenstein, J. D., *Ozar Zikhronothai*, p. 66.

⁵Harkavy is the famous Hebrew and Yiddish lexicographer. For details about his life, see *ibid.*, p. 50; A. Harkavy's *Perokim Mechayay*, New York, 1935; and *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v. VI, p. 234.

⁶A volume of 26 issues of the *Shulamith* is in possession of the family. The publication probably did not exist longer than a year.

and assisting the colonization of Jews in the United States. The attempt to secure the legacy was then of course abandoned.⁷ Bluestone reproached Adam Rosenberg, the president at the time, for having written a charter of that sort, but Rosenberg defended himself on the grounds that he was reluctant to have it officially known that the society was collecting funds for Palestine, lest this would reflect on the Americanism of the immigrants. When Bluestone prepared a new charter, somewhat later, he was careful to have the aims of the *Hebra Hovevai Zion* correctly stated.

The society, in addition to spreading propaganda and collecting funds for the Palestinian colonies, was also active in advocating the use of Palestinian products in America. Attempts were made to induce the Jews of New York to buy *ethrogim* grown only in Palestine. During *Sukkoth* the members of the group would scatter on the East Side streets and waylay the *Shamashim* busy carrying the *lulavim* and the *ethrogim* to their clients. They would indicate a desire to recite the prayers over the *ethrogim*, but would inquire whether the citrons were Palestinian products. Upon discovery that they were not, they would refuse to go through with the ceremony. The *Shamashim*, as a result, lost their remuneration. This, repeated a number of times, spread the rumor about town that the Jews were demanding Palestinian *ethrogim*.⁸

⁷ For details about this legacy see *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 10, p. 114 ff. Bluestone erroneously records that the funds were finally given to the ICA. Successful litigation on the part of a relative of Simson kept the funds in the family. I am indebted to Dr. Cyrus Adler and Mr. Leon Huhner for calling my attention to the facts in this case.

⁸ For other Palestinian products sold in the U. S. by the early *Hovevai Zion*, see E. R. Malachi, *Tozeret Eretz Israel Beamerika*, in *Hadoar*, v. 18, no. 33, p. 531. Incidentally, Malachi in this article publishes a letter from the *Hapisga* which speaks of Bluestone as the leading *Hovev Zion* in New York. In connection with the sale

In the early days, Dr. H. Pereira Mendes and Rabbi Aaron Wise often addressed the group. Once Bluestone and a committee came to invite Dr. Mendes to speak at a mass meeting. They related their mission to the Gentile housekeeper, who was very much astonished and inquired whether they were not aware of the fact that Dr. Mendes was a Jew and did not attend "mass." Others active at the time were Dr. Philip Klein, Rabbi M. S. Margolis, Hyman Aaron Medalie, Dr. Moses Mintz, Eliezer Bricker and Jerucham Zevi Simpson. In 1890 Bluestone was active in the formation of the *Shovai Zion*, an organization of *Hovevai Zion* which planned to settle its members in the Holy Land. This society sent Adam Rosenberg and Meyer London⁹ to Palestine to purchase land for the group. Instead of buying land in Palestine proper, the delegation bought land from Baron Rothschild east of the Jordan. Upon their return the project made no further headway and soon the whole plan was abandoned.

During several years, after his graduation from New York University, Bluestone became less active in the movement and devoted most of his time to his practice. But in 1897, with the formation of the Federation of American Zionists, he returned to the movement. The Federation was formed with Richard Gottheil as President and Stephen S. Wise as Secretary. Bluestone felt that the Federation in its formation had ignored the *Hovevai Zion*. As a result he and the *Hovevai Zion* refused to recognize the new organization. The difficulty however was soon ironed out, it seems, by the organization of a New York Federation, an affiliate of the parent Federation. The officers of this branch were Gottheil, president; Herman Rosenthal and Bluestone, vice-presidents; and

of Palestinian *ethrogim* we might mention here that in addition to the sentimental reason for purchasing the Palestinian product there is also a religious disqualification on citrons grown in other countries, lest they be the product of hybrid trees.

⁹ Meyer London was the East Side Matzoh baker.

Wise, secretary. The quarrel was no sooner patched up when a new schism arose which split the Zionist ranks wide open. This occurred when Bluestone conceived the idea that a Zionist fraternal order would attract to the movement many who were inclined to join the Jewish fraternal orders of the time. Bluestone proceeded to organize the "Free Sons of Zion," a forerunner of the present Order Sons of Zion. Several branches were established in New York, Brooklyn, Mt. Vernon, Yonkers and in other cities. The Zionist leaders, however, were displeased with the formation of a fraternal order and Gottheil called Bluestone to the home of Wise for a conference in an attempt to have him cease his work for the Order.¹⁰ The conference was a failure. Bluestone refused to discontinue activity and, moved by other differences between himself and the administration of the Federation, he left the Federation in 1901 and assisted in the formation of a similar organization, the "United Zionists," with Dr. Philip Klein as president. Into this organization came apparently most of the old *Hovevai Zion*, especially the Orthodox among the American Zionists.

In 1903 this United Zionist body sent Bluestone as a delegate to the Zionist Congress at Basle. Jacob DeHaas, who had already come to America from London to succeed Isidore Morrison as Secretary of the old Federation, attempted to have Bluestone's credentials nullified. The Congress, however, voted to seat him. Bluestone met at the Congress the leading Zionist figures of the day. Here he was introduced to Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau, Hayim N. Byalik, Dr. Shmarya Levin, Rabbi Isaac J. Reines, among many others. He also met two fellow New Yorkers, Cyrus L. Sulzberger

¹⁰ The differences over the Order seemed to have been purely over a matter of policy. Gottheil and Wise probably felt that the Zionists Federation as such should welcome Jews belonging to all kinds of Jewish fraternal orders, while Bluestone, seeing the opportunity of enrolling all kinds of people and gaining more adherents, felt that an Order of their own would strengthen Zionism.

and his wife,¹¹ who became ardent Zionists after meeting Herzl and attending the Congress. Bluestone describes in his memoirs how the questions of Cypress, El Arish and particularly Uganda agitated the delegates. He also tells of an attempt to have him head the formation of a separate Orthodox Zionist group and of his refusal to participate in such a movement. Both Herzl and Nordau tried to patch up the quarrel between the Federation and the United Zionists in America. Bluestone explained to Herzl that basically the rift was between an Americanized group under the Gottheil-Wise leadership and an immigrant-Orthodox group headed by Klein and himself.¹² Herzl's and Nordau's attempts at peace, despite a conference held by the latter with Bluestone, DeHaas and Gottheil, proved futile. Bluestone returned home and was feted by the United Zionists. Naphtali Herz Imber wrote a special poem for the occasion. The United Zionists seemed to be determined to carry on more than ever. But soon Bluestone found it difficult, because of illness, to be active in the movement, and DeHaas utilized his absence to attempt to disrupt the United Zionists. Since the United Zionists consisted of Orthodox Jews, DeHaas conceived the idea of having the Federation, together with the United Orthodox Synagogues, sponsor a *Mizrachi* organization of Orthodox Zionists. In this manner, he thought, he would draw away members from the United Zionists. His efforts were not greatly rewarded. The only permanent group organized as a result of this effort was the *Tiferet Mizrachi*.¹³

¹¹ Sulzberger later became vice-president of the Federation of American Zionists but, according to Bluestone, resigned because of differences with the administration.

¹² Herzl, according to the memoirs, appeared ill to Bluestone, who in the capacity of a physician counselled rest and care. Herzl of course was so engrossed in his work that attention to his health was out of the question. The very next year he died.

¹³ It was not until 1913 with the arrival of Rabbi Meyer Berlin that a permanent *Mizrachi* organization was formed in the United States.

Time however brought changes which the efforts of the Zionist leaders could not affect. The United Zionist Organization died a natural death. In the meantime, Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore and Dr. Judah L. Magnes of New York City came to the leadership of the Federation and Bluestone was drawn back into the fold. Dr. Magnes, far from opposing the formation of a Zionist Order, urged Bluestone to revive the old Order and helped him reorganize it as the "Order Sons of Zion." The first convention was called by Bluestone at which Dr. David Blaustein¹⁴ was elected *Nasi* (president). Soon however Blaustein resigned and the mantle of *Nasi* fell upon the writer of our memoirs who thereafter held this position in the Order time and again.¹⁵ In 1913, with the rise of the *Mizrachi*, Bluestone also became identified with that movement and remained a member of its executive committee until his death.

The memoirs of Dr. Bluestone are undoubtedly one of the most important sources for the history of early Zionism in America. The future historian of American Zionism may perhaps refuse to accept some of the views therein expressed concerning Zionist affairs, but he will certainly not be able to ignore these views nor disregard the many details of the history of Zionism which these memoirs give.¹⁶ The memoirs,

¹⁴ One must not confuse Blaustein with Bluestone. They were not related although their names and their activities were somewhat similar. Blaustein was Executive director of the Educational Alliance for many years. See his *Memoirs of David Blaustein*, New York, 1913.

¹⁵ Drafts in manuscript of Bluestone's annual reports as *Nasi* to the conventions of the Order are extant in the scrapbooks.

¹⁶ The claim made here is based on the fact that primary and secondary works on Zionism contain very little on early American Zionism. Gottheil's *Zionism*, Lipsky's essay *Thirty Years of American Zionism* in his *Selected Works* make only passing references to it. Nahum Sokolow in his *History of Zionism* devotes a paragraph to it, while in his *Hibbath Zion* his account is undoubtedly based on information supplied by Bluestone. Supporting evidence for this

however, do not deal exclusively with Zionism. They are also valuable for other communal activities in New York City, particularly in the field of Jewish education.

For over fifty years Bluestone was active in the oldest East European Jewish School on the East Side, the *Machzikai Talmud Torah*. For many years he presided as chairman of the school's Board of Education. Here he also organized the *Malbish Arumim Society*, an organization to clothe the poor pupils who otherwise would have been prevented from attending school, and for a long time he acted as its secretary.¹⁷ In 1905, against the opposition of Moses Butkowsky, vice-president of the Board, he introduced the reform of permitting girls to attend the school. In time, the Board came to the conclusion that this innovation was a decided benefit for the school and for Jewish education in New York City. In the same year Jacob H. Schiff visited the school incognito and was very much impressed by its management and curriculum. He informed the Board that he would be willing to donate \$25,000 to erect a branch of the Talmud Torah further uptown.¹⁸ Bluestone and a committee visited him and offered to name the new branch the "Jacob H. Schiff" school. Schiff rejected the proposal vehemently. No institution could be named for him during his lifetime. "Besides" he said, "the money I give away is really not mine. I am merely an agent of God. . . ." The branch was soon opened on 7th Street by means of this contribution, and Schiff attended the open-

fact is a letter in the scrapbooks from I. H. Rubin of the Jewish National Fund to Bluestone, dated June 15, 1932, asking Bluestone to send Sokolow details on the *Hibat Zion* movement in America. In addition, some of the facts given in Sokolow's *Hibbath Zion* read almost word for word as if they were taken bodily out of our memoirs.

¹⁷ The minute book of the *Malbish Arumim Society* is in possession of the family.

¹⁸ Confirm this contribution in Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff*, v. 2, pp. 60-61.

ing. Both he, his son Mortimer, and his son-in-law Felix M. Warburg, became sustaining members of the school.

Bluestone became concerned over the deplorable and disorganized condition of Jewish education in New York City and began to advocate in 1905 a union of the schools to effect a unified curriculum. Together with H. B. Isaacson of the Uptown Talmud Torah and Hillel Malechowsky, he called a meeting of representatives of the larger schools to discuss the situation. The result was the formation of the Central Board of Jewish Education, with Bluestone as president and Samuel Abelow as secretary. Among the schools participating in this board were the Educational Alliance, Downtown Talmud Torah, Uptown Talmud Torah, the Meserole St. Talmud Torah of Williamsburg and the Pennsylvania Avenue Talmud Torah of Brownsville. With the formation of the *Kehillah* in 1910 by Magnes and others, a Bureau of Jewish Education was organized with Dr. Samson Benderly as director. The old Central Board meanwhile continued to function. Soon friction developed between the two. From a copy of a letter written by Bluestone,¹⁹ one gains the impression that the Central Board, composed as it was of Orthodox schools, felt that it was slighted by the Bureau in the matter of subventions and that an attempt was being made to interfere with the internal administration of these schools.²⁰ We are however at a loss to learn more about this controversy from our memoirs, since they stop at about this point.²¹

¹⁹ Found in the scrapbooks.

²⁰ Dushkin in his *Jewish Education in New York City* mentions the Central Board and the quarrel with the Orthodox schools but gives the point of view of the Bureau of Jewish Education that it tried to strike a happy medium and act in an impartial manner in distributing subventions among the Orthodox and the nationalistic schools. See Alexander D. Dushkin, *Jewish Education in New York City*, New York, 1918, pp. 93, 100, 108, 114.

²¹ The scrapbooks contain minutes in typescript of several meetings of the Committee on Jewish Education of the *Kehillah* of which Henrietta Szold was secretary.

Another subject of interest is the development of the Beth Israel Hospital. Bluestone, as already indicated, was a member of its Medical Board from its inception until 1906, and he gives some interesting details about its early history.²² In that year he and other physicians withdrew from the hospital because of dissatisfaction with the management of the institution. Lebanon Hospital also receives some attention. Throughout the memoirs, of course, one reads constantly of the experiences of an East Side physician, as seen in Bluestone's own medical career as well as in those of other physicians.

Bluestone was interested in the activities of the Educational Alliance and many absorbing details concerning this institution are found in the memoirs. The early *Maskilim* of the East Side are frequently mentioned. There is some material here also on the *Am Olam*, the *Ozrai Ovdai Adama*, a society to encourage agriculture among the Jews of America, the *Agudat Ovdai Adama*, another and similar society which attempted to settle a number of Jews on land in Colorado; the *Shoharai Sefat Eber*, a society of Hebraists of the early 80's²³ and the *Hebra Ziona*. Among incidents related, of interest to the development of the Jewish community, is the arrival of Rabbi Jacob Joseph, chief Rabbi of the Orthodox synagogues, his disappointing experiences in America and his death and funeral. The visit to America of Sir Laurence Oliphant, the famous Gentile Zionist, is also mentioned with a discussion held by Bluestone and Abraham Goldfaden with him at his hotel about England and Zionism. Jewish life on the East Side, Jewish-Christian missionaries, Russian-Polish and German Jewish relations, and the Yiddish press receive no inconsiderable attention.²⁴

²² An early set of by-laws in manuscript of the Medical Board of the Beth Israel Hospital is extant in the scrapbooks.

²³ A minute book of this society covering several meetings and giving the names of its members is in the scrapbook.

²⁴ The attempt in this article has been to tell only of matters

Among the individuals mentioned, besides those whom we have already named, are: Rabbi Abraham J. Asch, Joseph Barondess, Hirsch Bernstein, Ephraim Deinard, A. D. Dobsevage, M. M. Dolitzky, Dr. Bernard Drachman, Aaron Hirsch Frankel, Haham Moses Gaster of London, Rabbi Gustav Gottheil, Samuel H. Isaacs, Dr. Abraham Jacobi, Mordecai Johalemstein, Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, Rabbi B. L. Levinthal of Philadelphia, Dr. Gustave Lieberman, Dr. Adolph Margolis, Prof. Max Margolis, the Rev. Z. H. Masliansky, Dr. Adolph Radin, A. H. Rosenberg, Herman Rosenthal, Jacob Saperstein, Kathriel Sarasohn, Israel Schapiro, Dr. Solomon Schechter, Getzel Selikowitz, Jacob Sobel and Davis Trietsch.²⁵

pertaining to the Jewish community or to Zionism, and even these only in outline. Matters relating to Bluestone's personal life, his family and his friends, have been for the most part omitted. The memoirs, of course, contain a great deal of material of this nature.

²⁵ Some of these individuals are mentioned several times in connection with communal activities or with matters of personal biographical interest.

A VOYAGE TO AMERICA NINETY YEARS AGO.
THE DIARY OF A BOHEMIAN JEW ON HIS VOYAGE FROM
HAMBURG TO NEW YORK, 1847.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY PROF. GUIDO KISCH

INTRODUCTION.

Every human being, whose mind reflects on the mutability of human fate, will long remember his impressions and experiences upon leaving European shores, during his trip to the "Land of Freedom", and upon being introduced to the American scene. In the centuries since the discovery of the New World, these impressions have been often described by competent and less competent pens. They have been presented in the most varying tones, and have been painted in colors from brightest red to deepest black. The New York Public Library possesses a rich collection of such descriptions. In our day the thinking Jewish emigrant to America is, more than ever, moved by the fate of his predecessors. There is hardly any need for explaining this phenomenon. The reasserted recollections of former hardships are responsible for an ever-widening desire today for knowledge about the former conditions surrounding Jewish migrations to this land. This, to be sure, is prompted mainly by practical interests. Family trees are wanted and relatives, who had left their homelands decades ago and had long been forgotten, are desperately searched for. But above the prosaic and realistic aim of investigations of this type, rises ever the thought of the common Jewish Galut fate which binds the generations.

In vain does one seek for published voyage descriptions of Jewish emigrants to America of former times. No such re-

port by a Jewish author is to be found, not even one dating from the first half of the 19th century. And yet we know that in the decades before, and in the years directly after the Revolution of 1848, many Jews undertook the dangers of the voyage to a land barely opened up and hardly known to them, in order to escape the religious intolerance and the political pressure in their European homelands. Presumably, few, if any, Jewish travel reports have survived even in manuscript form. Until a few years ago none had been brought to light, to my knowledge. In 1937, I was able to publish an interesting letter¹ of a Württemberg Jew concerning his ocean voyage, which had lasted from September 13, 1818 to February 12, 1819. Induced by this discovery, I endeavored to find and obtain similar material in possession of private individuals in order to make it accessible to scientific research. All efforts, unfortunately, were unsuccessful.

Therefore, a historical document, that a short time ago luckily fell into my hands, must appear all the more significant. It is the travel diary of a Bohemian Jew, which is herewith made public. He composed it in the year 1847 during his journey to America on board the two-masted brig, "Colibri". All his experiences from the time of his embarkation in Hamburg on May 19th until his arrival in New York on July 9th are carefully depicted.

The diary, a notebook in duodecimo form, bound in half-calf, contains 140 pages, most of which are closely written in pencil. Ist title-page, done neatly in printed letters, bears the following inscription: Tagebuch während der Reise von Hamburg nach New York. The flyleaf shows an ocean scene in a hasty pencil drawing. On the title-page is the further inscription: "May the 19th, 1897. This day book is now

¹See Guido Kisch, "German Jews in white labor servitude in America" in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 34. p. 22, et seq.

fifty years old. S. E. Rosenbaum, at the age of 75 [years] and 2 months". On the back of this page, written in the same hand, the following addition appears: "This book is now 56 years old, at the age of 81 years and 9 weeks. S. E. Rosenbaum, Allentown, Pa."

THE EMIGRANT.

S. E. Rosenbaum, the author of our diary, was born in March, 1822. His birthplace was presumably the Bohemian town, Goltsch Jenikau.² At one time he describes himself as a "runaway Haberner". Therefore, it is also possible that he came from Habern, a town seven kilometres south of Goltsch Jenikau. Both places lie east of Prague and belonged in old Austria to the Bezirkshauptmannschaft (county) of Czaslau in Bohemia. Goltsch Jenikau, where Rosenbaum spent his youth, is a small town of about 2200 inhabitants. This number has remained steadily about the same throughout the decades. The Jewish population of this small commercial and industrial town in 1842 was 613. As in most of the small Jewish communities of Bohemia, a strong Jewish life flourished there at about that time. The religious and cultural needs of the community were well cared for. Rosenbaum grew up in the often described *milieu* of a Bohemian-Jewish village community. His father, E. Rosenbaum, who had already died by 1847, had apparently been a merchant. In the year 1857, one Moriz Rosenbaum was the proprietor of a clothier's shop there. He is probably our traveler's elder brother, who is mentioned once in the diary with that first

² Concerning the history of the Jewish communities in which Rosenbaum spent his youth, see Hugo Gold, *Die Juden und Judengemeinden in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Brünn-Prague, 1934; especially Jan Maximovič, *History of the Jews in Goltsch Jenikau* [in Czech], pp. 152-165, and Joseph Havrda, *History of the Jews in Strakonitz* [in Czech], pp. 613-614.

name. In those days the small town Jewish merchant's occupation did not constitute his sole interest. There was always time left over for intellectual pursuits. The same was true of the Rosenbaum family. Another brother, Bernhard Rosenbaum, who is often mentioned in the diary with especial affection and esteem, was a doctor of medicine and a practicing physician, one of those intellectual and industrious young Jews who, at the time of the first emancipation, had quickly found their way to the university and the academic professions. Moreover, a brother-in-law of the diarist, called Fürth, is mentioned as a rabbi in Strakonitz. An uncle, whose name is not given, was also a rabbi.

The author of our diary, although similarly intellectual, became neither a doctor nor a rabbi. Repeatedly, he characterizes himself as a painter. His life was not to run along the worn path of an average Bohemian provincial Jew. With all his heart he is attached to his parental home, in which he was lovingly reared, in fact pampered and spoiled. In Prague, where he was taken—presumably for the purpose of a commercial education—he feels “uneasy” (unheimlich) directly after his arrival. He suddenly resolves to hasten back to Jenikau, and arrives there ahead of his brother, who had taken him to Prague. Soon however, in contrast to this episode, an irrepressible *Wanderlust* seized him. He himself characterizes it in his diary as “travel mania” (Reisewut). At first, it led him to the more restricted area of his Bohemian homeland, back to Prague, and then to Kolin. He spent happy days at Strakonitz in the home of the “fez” manufacturer, Weil, whom he mentions gratefully. However, he is urged to wander away even further. He makes his way to Lamstedt in North Germany, a small town in Hannover, west of Stade, and finally to Hamburg. Lamstedt, where he “spent the saddest days of his life, where he had to be in the company of small children and get along with his little knowledge”, was considered by Rosenbaum as a sort of a

preparatory school, in which he learned self-denial for the first time. "The crazy thought to go to America" finally became ripe in Hamburg. Neither the general motives for this resolution nor the particular occasion of his final decision are evident from the diary. The only motives appear to have been *Wanderlust*, the thirst for knowledge and, above all, a longing for the "Land of Freedom".

Rosenbaum fared, even if a bit better, not much differently from his Württemberg co-religionist, Wolf Samuel.³ The latter had undertaken the trip across the ocean thirty years before him. In order to taste freedom, he had first to undergo a condition akin to slavery for years, from which he saved himself only by secret flight. Rosenbaum likewise was disillusioned in the land of freedom. True, he found work soon after his arrival and "earned nice money as a window shades painter". But even so, he was overcome in his later years by disappointment and despondency. The last pages of his diary, which were presumably written fifty years after the first reports, offer an eloquent proof of his emotions. "O, how sanguine were my hopes when I turned my back on the *unfree* city of Hamburg on the 19th of May, 1847, in order to go to free America. O, how very much have I sacrificed; how I have renounced everything that was dear to me, separated from my mother, perhaps (O horror!) never to see her again; torn myself from my brother and sister; renounced the home of Cohn; all that in order to suffer in America and to go peddling. O, had I been able to see into the future, how different things would be with me now, how content I would have been in Lamstedt, how economical, secluded. . . . But it is past, what has happened cannot be undone. Here I am buried alive. Here I must go peddling and cry 'Do you want to buy?' sweat and carry my basket." A return home was never to be thought of. To be sure, Rosenbaum did not have the means

³ *Publications, supra, l. c.*

for such an undertaking. Yet, perhaps he could have earned his passage in one form or another. This too was out of the question. Only derision and contempt would be the lot of a stranded "American" back home. He was neither able to take up his old life nor build up a new one. That is also stressed in the assertions of other emigrants to America of that time. The only welcome and respected "American" in Europe those days was the "rich uncle from America".

Thus, Rosenbaum remained in America. In spite of industrious investigations I could gather only meagre information concerning his later life. The title-page of the diary names Allentown, Pennsylvania. There Rosenbaum lived many years and there he ended his days. There, a few oil paintings of his have been preserved in private possession, proof that he remained loyal to his artistic inclination even in his later years. The names and addresses of two grandchildren have been found. Unfortunately, the attempt to get them to talk was not successful. My letters to them remained unanswered. Perhaps they had no personal bonds with their grandfather.

Rosenbaum apparently guarded his diary secretly until his death as the record of his unforgettable recollections. It is a veritable "human document" of a man's enterprise, striving, and endurance. It deservedly is here brought to light,—an eloquent commentary to the paintings by him which probably do not mean much to their owners today.

THE VOYAGE.

S. E. Rosenbaum composed his diary with two purposes in mind—purposes which he repeatedly expressed—to relate the experience of the trip to the family back home and to prepare "a book of reminiscence" for himself in his later years. Both purposes have evidently influenced the contents and the presentation of the "Tagebuch". The descriptions refer to the life on the ship, the observation of the natural phe-

nomena and his own experience. One definitely receives the impression that the author was guided by unconditional frankness and honesty. This does not mean, though, that occasionally disagreeable experiences and gloomy moods were not suppressed. The directness of the experience and the aliveness of the presentation respectively influence and enliven each other and lend the diary its peculiar character and its special cultural and historical significance.

Consider this emigrant. He is not one of those average people who crossed the ocean in hordes in the middle of the last century. Although only twenty-five years of age he is already a man of attainments. He possesses a schooling that was good in those days; he writes German flawlessly, is well acquainted with German literature, is grounded in history and politics, and, above all, he possesses pronounced journalistic talent. He is a painter by profession, endowed with a lively fantasy and a strongly marked sense for nature. He has an excellent gift of observation, which enables him to see and admire much that others would blindly overlook. Only seldom does his good humor, which aids him out of many difficulties, leave him. With philosophical calm and cool reflection, he muses on and criticizes persons and things; he observes and investigates the attitudes of other people toward life as well as his own. He clings to home and homeland with an unceasing yearning. His is a modest, sensitive, yet proud nature, at the same time contented and grateful. He recognizes human weaknesses and frailties, including his own, at which he frequently pokes fun with fine self-irony. The strongest basis, however,—upon which this unusual character rests, is a typically Jewish, firm and unflinching trust in God.

Thus, practically everything that the diary reports is interesting and worthy of note. From beginning to end the reading is instructive and fascinating. Moreover, it is the directness of experience which lends this diary especial note and

gives it precedence over other similar comparable descriptions, such as, Johann Jacob Rüttlinger's *Tagebuch auf einer Reise nach Nordamerika im Jahre 1823*, Zürich, 1925 or Dorus Kromer's *Amerikafahrt, Aus den Goldgräberjahren eines Schwarzwälder Bauernsohnes*, Leipzig, 1935. The descriptions in both these books are recorded only from memory. But in the case of Rosenbaum the daily events are immediately taken down. Only a painter with journalistic talent could achieve such a picture as is depicted here. In the tossing of the vessel to and fro the reader feels the shifting to and fro of the author's inner emotions and experiences. A modern psychologist could not wish for better and more reliable records to investigate the psychic state of the Jewish emigrant.

Rosenbaum has his eye open for all that goes on. He, who had formerly paid but little attention to nature about him, becomes an enthusiastic observer of it. Sunrise and sunset on the sea, fair weather and storm, the proximity of the coasts, and the boundless ocean with its world of animate beings make a deep impression upon the mentally lonely seafarer. "What splendid dinner music!" he cries out at one time. "How the waves roar! Bohemian music is nothing compared to it." He continually seeks the company of the captain in order to inform himself on such questions as geography, chronography, and maritime conditions. Amidst the idleness of all his fellow travelers, Rosenbaum's time on the ship is always profitably filled. Observing and thinking, seeing and drawing, reading, writing, meditating,—that is what he busies himself with. His diary, consequently, is full of interesting material for the student of social history.

An unusually fine picture of an ocean voyage on a sailing ship with all its hazards unfolds itself before the reader. The "fast-sailing vessel", Colibri, is placed vividly before our eyes with its motley society of ninety emigrants "of every class and faith". There are twenty children on board. One can imagine the noise and the colorful bustle of life which

surrounds our indefatigable diary writer. The trip is terribly slow. It takes more than two weeks for the ship to pass the channel. At the end of the long, yet enjoyable channel crossing, our reporter remarks thankfully: "Many ships take thirty days and even more in crossing the channel". He notes and describes the German, American, Dutch, English, and Swedish ships which the Colibri met on the way. For those times, the traffic of emigrant vessels on the ocean was quite lively. Whatever Rosenbaum could glean from the captain by way of information, he carefully noted.

Life and activity on the ship are also accurately and clearly described. Here, a heterogeneous group of people is thrown together. Among them the pigs grunt and the hens cackle. At seven in the morning breakfast is fetched; at noon dinner is had; at seven in the evening tea is served. The rest of the time is governed by boredom. The various types of people pass away the time in various ways. Music and dancing are on the agenda. The crew attempts now and then to amuse the passengers with coarse jokes. Quarrelling and squabbling often prevail among them. Then the captain steps in and settles all quarrels. He is the commander and judge, the "king of the ship".

Accommodations and board are by no means ideal on the ship. "The food is so bad that, in comparison, the pigs in Bohemia are fed with delicacies; it is hardly edible. But I take everything as it comes, for I am going to reach my goal", writes Rosenbaum. Another time he remarks: "In four weeks I have eaten meat only once; for it is so bad that most of the passengers say it must be horse meat, and, unfortunately, it is easy to believe". Rosenbaum complains continually about poor and insufficient food and even hunger. Drinking water was a special treasure, over which many a fight arose. Fish, the only fresh and tasty food, is not served because it gives rise to thirst. The supplies of bread and butter, rice and potatoes are quickly consumed. The water

finally becomes acrid; yet it is the only water to be had. Unfortunately, Rosenbaum still owes us the description of the "Tartarus", namely, "the hell of the between-decks", which, at one time in his diary, he had proposed to do. He was compelled to sleep on a sea-grass mattress and had no blanket.

The hygienic conditions on the ship defy description. Sick-nesses appear, fostered by the lack of cleanliness. The plague of vermin spreads. There is no doctor on board. The captain serves as such. Rosenbaum has high praise for him: "It is elevating and refreshing to see how our captain visits every sick person, gives him Hoffmann's drops, and proves himself a comforter all around. In distress the true human being shows himself to be a human being". But humanness, as great as it may be, cannot substitute for medical knowledge. Even Rosenbaum could not fail to notice this. For he had to confess: "The captain does not appear to be a good doctor. God forbid that you should fall ill here."

One can imagine that at the end of seven such weeks, full of torment and privation, the exhausted passengers as well as the "half starved" crew were overcome with nervous excitement and boundless joy as they neared the American mainland, the goal of their trip. The depiction of this mood and of the entrance into the New York harbor is among the most excellent and impressive descriptions of the entire diary. It is easy to understand that Rosenbaum counted the day that the first American, namely the New York pilot, boarded the ship as the happiest of his life. "Forgotten are all sufferings and inconveniences; I have seen America; my desire is fulfilled."

THE JEW.

This diary is significant from many points of view. But all of it is overshadowed by the power and depth of its Jewish sentiments. The typical philosophy and attitude of a Jew

reveal themselves on its every page and practically in its every line.

S. E. Rosenbaum, be it remembered, brought with him from the ghetto of his native town and from his parents' home an adamant trust in God which accompanied him in all the situations and dangers of his life. In Him, he saw the Father of Heaven who never deserts His child. God is everywhere with the believer. In Him, he finds comfort and strength. During a terrible storm, he firmly writes in his diary: "God grant that it become no worse. My comfort is God. I know no fear and the ship may sway as it will, I will not fear. I ask only for good health." When he thinks of his empty pockets, he comforts himself thus: "I will not think. God will guide everything for the best." He diverts his doubts concerning his future in America with the remark: "What will happen to me in the land of freedom I leave in the hands of God." "God, who helped me up to now, will help me further too." "Only no human aid; for whoever depends upon friends, upon strange friends, is badly off." To our deeply religious and philosophical traveler God's omnipotence is revealed in every aspect of the dangerous and awe-inspiring ocean. "Is not God, the Father, here, just as on the land?" With such thoughts he finds peaceful sleep during stormy nights. In the region around Newfoundland, the captain tells of threatening icebergs. Unconsciously and instinctively Rosenbaum's thoughts assume the form of a prayer: "It was here that Sloman's ship, Stephanie, foundered last year with so many Jews from Hamburg. There were no friends, no brothers, no mothers with the unfortunate voyagers. It is here that one must and can seek comfort only in God, that one must call only upon Him. 'If father and mother leave me, I still have one Father who is always with me. And therefore, O God, Thou comforter of all sufferers, today and forever shouldst Thou be my comfort and trust. And here where death is staring us in the face, I am happy and satis-

fied and will sleep peacefully'". While all the others often despair and curse their decision to emigrate, not one word of regret passes Rosenbaum's lips: "With clasped hands I thank Thee, God, that I have the good fortune of being able to make this trip. For at this moment I am gazing at an incomparably beautiful sight: the sun, sinking into the sea, is reflected in the water, and the sea is so calm. I stand here sunk in reverie and lift my eyes in astonishment and respect to Thee, O Creator. Whoever has never seen the sun, who has never watched the moon rise during a sea voyage, has never seen anything. The others dance, but I am lost in the beautiful view and cannot marvel enough at the omnipotence of God, although I have had proof of it as long as I have lived. Truly, he who does not pray in the dust to God has no religion."

Given this deeply religious nature, it is not surprising to find him almost constantly reminded of religious life at home. It is characteristic of him that he reckons the entire trip and his life on board according to Sabbaths, from one Friday evening to the other. The sight of the first sunset upon the sea lends Friday evening a particular consecration. The Sabbath is ever a source of meditation for him; his thoughts carry him back to his home and family. In those days, during an ocean trip, despite all good intentions it was difficult to observe the Sabbath and the prescribed ceremonies. On a Friday afternoon, Rosenbaum, writes: "The day is about to end. Unshaved, in week-day clothes, I must greet the Shabos. The waves intone the *Borhu* today, quite as well as does Sulzer in Vienna." The feast of *Shabuot* fell in the first week of the voyage. Rosenbaum omits the usual diary entry and explains: "Since, as a believer in the Old Testament, I was not allowed to write during Pentecost, I hurry to make up for it today." He performed a particular duty during that holiday. The Jewish passengers of the brig *Colibri*, had "held Minyan" (*Minjan gemacht*) and Rosenbaum had to "play the Hazzan"

this time as well as on the Sabbaths to follow. Upon such occasions he is especially reminded of home and he pictures to himself the scenes that are taking place there at the very same hour. "While in dear Jenikau young and old are hurrying to *Schul* to pray *Minha*," one can read in the diary, "I am floating on the ocean and am thinking of the past." On the fast-day of the 17th of Tammuz, Rosenbaum offers the following reflection: "Now everyone in dear Jenikau is hurrying to *Minha* to hear *Vayhal* [Exodus 32, 11 ff.]. I doubt whether those who have fasted look as exhausted and starved as we do here on our ship, despite the fact that no one here has fasted."

Even the diet on the ship gives rise to some religious reminiscences. The very first dinner is not to his taste and he notes: "Bacon is not for me; I prefer bread, butter, cheese." The bread on the ship reminds him of the unleavened bread of Passover and he remarks: "The bread looks like our Easter bread, only smaller and quite thick, *Reibmatzoh*." And once again: "The bread tastes like matzos; however, for many of them here, it is a torture to have to keep the Passover so long."

The reader will be able to discover numerous other instances in the diary in which the influence of the writer's Jewish *milieu* finds expression. No one, for example, will be able to escape the profound impression which Rosenbaum's musings about his deceased father and his recollections of his still living mother evoke. At every moment of the trip he hopes and prays. How often does he encourage himself; with what patience and contentment must he brace himself; with what assurance does he challenge an unknown life in an unknown land.

Have his hopes and dreams found fulfillment in this country? The postscript in his diary, added presumably after fifty years, offers an unambiguous answer. It is unprofitable to speculate as to what might have become of the young Goltsch Jenikau Jew, had he remained home in Bohemia.

Shortly before his arrival in New York, Rosenbaum stated in his diary: "In order to be content, a man need only cast his glance beneath himself. However, if he is so foolish as to cast his glance above, he becomes discontented, unhappy, is at odds with himself, and is very near to despairing." If, accordingly, he had compared his fate with that of the Russian Jewish refugees at the end of the century, and had he been in the position to cast his eye upon the destiny of his co-religionists in many parts of the old world, he would most certainly have reconciled himself with his lot. Surely then would he have joined in the prayer which the Swiss folk-poet, J. J. Rüttlinger, uttered in his diary of 1823: "May the Father in Heaven allow that America remain a free, happy place of refuge for all those whom oppression and misery have driven out of the Old World; may He permit them to seek a sanctuary here."

THE DIARY.⁴

Mittwoch, den 19. Mai 1847.

Dienstag Abend kam ich an Bord in der Meinung, das Schiff gehe weg, aber der Wind war West. Meine Freunde und ihre Schwestern verliessen das Schiff, denn im weichen Bett auf festem Grund und Boden lässt es sich besser schlafen. Ich aber blieb an Bord. Es war 9 Uhr, ich ging auf Deck, machte Bekanntschaft mit mehreren Herren. Um 11 suchte ich meine Ruhestätte, meinen, sage meinen Platz, wo es mir wenigstens gegönnt sein wird, zu träumen, um im Schlafe doch glücklich zu sein. Das Schiff ist zwar nur eine Brigg, ein Zweimaster, aber ich muss aufrichtig gestehen, das Zwischendeck ist sehr schön, ja elegant gegen Slomans und Bremer Schiffe.

⁴The Manuscript is in the library of its present editor. The printing here of the Diary follows the original word by word. Only obvious errors in writing were corrected without a notation to that effect. Moreover, a few stylistic changes, without any significance for the meaning of the text, have been made. The few Hebrew words which the original contains appear in transcription.

[20. Mai.]

Des Morgens, als ich erwachte, hörte ich rufen: "Guter Wind, wir können segeln." Wer war glücklicher denn ich. Aber meine Bekannten, meine Freundinnen waren in Hamburg und mir wurde gesagt, das Schiff werde gleich gehen. Ich wollte nach Hamburg hinein, aber ich, der ich nach Amerika will, habe kein—Geld, habe nicht einmal zwei Groschen, um eine Gondel zu nehmen, die mich ans jenseitige Ufer bringt. Doch zum Glück hatte ich einen Schirm, den liess ich als Pfand und eilte mit vollen Segeln nach meinen Freunden. Sie lagen noch im Bett und kaum hatten sie so viel Zeit, um Hosen und Unterhosen anzuziehen. Wir eilten nach dem Hafen, das Schiff hatte schon den Platz verlassen und wir liessen uns durch eine Jolle an Bord bringen. Dies alles war ein Werk von 25 Minuten.

9 Uhr.

Das Schiff ist in vollem Gange, wir haben köstlichen Wind, und wenn er so bleibt, so haben wir Hoffnung, morgen in See zu sein. Es ist schönes Wetter, die ganze Mannschaft ist vergnügt. Auch habe ich mir schon meinen Kaffee geholt. Aber—o Lamstedt—sieh, ich habe oft gemeint, wenn ich nach Amerika sollte, so könnte ich allen Unannehmlichkeiten trotzen. Und nun? Da mir der Kaffee nicht mundet, so gebe ich ihn den Fischen.

12 Uhr.

Das Mittagessen mundete mir nicht, denn das Speckessen ist meine Sache nicht, drum nehme ich lieber Brot, Butter, Käse. Ich habe ein halbes Pfund Butter und ein halbes Brot auf 8 Tage erhalten.

2 Uhr.

Wenn wir Böhmen unkonsequent und wetterwendisch sind, so ist es der Hamburger Wind tausend Mal mehr. Vor 2 Stunden gut, und nun?—Der schlechteste Wind, der nur immer möglich ist. Zugleich haben wir Flut entgegen. Das Schiff liegt vor Anker, die Segel eingezogen. Die Elbe ist hier hundert Mal breiter als bei Kolin. Die schönsten Elbgegenden sind wir passiert, wie Blankenese, Glückstadt und an der hannöverschen Küste Brunshaupten, Stade, Freiburg. Soeben erblicke ich auch den Dobnuk, das schöne Gebirge, wo wir Lamstedter uns am Pfingsten so herrlich amüsierten, Butterkuchen assen und so manche Freuden, die ich hier nicht nennen mag, empfand. Ich rufe euch noch allen ein herzliches Lebewohl zu. Cohn in Kumdeich, Israel in Wischhafen, Geller in Geversdorf und auch den Belumer Markt lasse ich grüssen. Belum liegt gerade vor meinen Augen, obzwar etwas entfernt, so sehe ich doch die Mündung

der Oste in die Elbe. Ach wie öde ist jetzt Belum und wie lebhaft in 14 Tagen. Wenn Albert Cohn in Belum sein wird, so wird er sich gewiss meiner erinnern.

4 Uhr.

Kaum 10 Stunden von Hamburg gesegelt und schon hätten wir zwei Leben zu bedauern gehabt, ein Hunde- und ein Menschenleben. Der Hund des Kapitäns hat Lust bekommen, das Innere der Elbe zu ergründen und wäre mir nichts dir nichts auf den Grund gekommen. Wenigstens hätten wir gewusst, wo der Hund begraben ist. Die Vorsehung hat es anders beschlossen, denn sie hat den Kapitän mit einem Herzen begabt, mit Gefühlen, wie es gewiss wenige Seeleute besitzen. Auf einen Wink mussten zwei Matrosen sich vom Schiffe lassen und in einer Jolle den Hund zu ereilen suchen. Sie machten sich gleich auf und in weniger als zehn Minuten hatten sie ihn schon erhascht und segelten wieder zurück. Unglücklicherweise lag die Jolle seitwärts, und der eine Matrose verlor das Gleichgewicht und fiel ins Wasser. Doch zum Glück war er vernünftig genug, nicht ertrinken zu wollen, und rettete sich selbst. Wir waren froh, mit dem Schreck allein davongekommen zu sein. Es ist merkwürdig, was die Erziehung beim Menschen vermag. Den einen macht und bildet sie zum feinen galanten, den anderen Menschen zum robusten. Wäre dieser Matrose in Jenikau geboren und von E. Rosenbaum erzogen, so wäre er sicher verzogen. Ganz nass kam er von seiner Reise aufs Deck, als er sich nur ein Unterhemd anzog und—wieder zu seiner Arbeit ging. Kaum wurde er bedauert. Das kann aber nur ein englischer Matrose. Wie bedauere ich es, dass man mich nicht abgehärtet, dass unsere verewigte Rachel mit mir in unser kleines Gewölbzimmer ging, um mir die Oberdecke zu wärmen. Und nun liege ich auf Seegrasmattentzen und zwar ganz ohne Oberdecke.

5 Uhr.

Es ist unglaublich, wir sind eben vor Cuxhaven und können es nicht erreichen. Vor einer Viertelstunde das schönste Wetter, und nun ein Sturm, ein plötzlicher Sturm. Im Zwischendeck kann man es nicht aushalten. Schon ist ein junger Frankfurter im Begriff, nach Breslau zu wallfahrten ^{4a} und zwar ohne Dampf. Mehrere sind seekrank, doch ich bin wirklich sehr munter. Nur habe ich Hunger, hüte mich aber, zu essen, ein schreckliches Opfer für einen zur See reisenden

^{4a} Bohemian idiomatic phrase meaning: to feel sick on a railway trip.

Jenikauer. Wenn der Wind nicht besser wird, so können wir hier zwischen der hannöverschen und dänischen Küste *Erew Schawuot* feiern.

8 Uhr.

Noch immer hier. O welch herrlicher Anblick, die Sonne geht unter, sie versinkt, steigt empor, und—kommt nicht wieder zum Vorschein.

Am 20.

Haben Wind, wir segeln weiter an Cuxhaven, Neuwerk vorbei und wollen schon in See. Der Wind dreht sich, wir müssen ankern und auf guten Wind warten.

Unser Schnellsegler *Colibri* bringt uns in Gesellschaft von 90 Mitgefährten und Mitgefährtinnen jeden Standes und Glaubens nach dem Lande der Freiheit. Das Schiff fliegt den majestätischen Strom hinab, die Sonne scheint und die Flut strömt sich abspiegelnd dahin; die reizenden Elbufer halten ihre Blicke gefesselt. Rechts und links segeln Fahrzeuge an uns vorbei und bringen uns Grüsse aus allen Theilen der Welt. Sieh, wie stolz auf ihren Namen und Inhalt, Washington und Pallas, sie kommen beide aus dem Lande der Freiheit, sie grüssen und werden begrüsst.—"Unser Schiff neigt sich auf die eine Seite!" O, fürchten sie nichts! Blicken sie zurück, sehen sie Cuxhaven, Neuwerk? Grüss mir Ritzebüttel.—Nun wollen wir essen. Welch eine herrliche Tischmusik! Wie die Wellen rauschen! Böhmische Musik ist nichts dagegen. Die Tafel ist aufgehoben. Unsichtbare Nereiden haben den Kaffee aufs Verdeck gestellt. Folgen sie mir!! Die Wasserfläche ist grösser, ist grösser geworden! Bald, bald, meine Freundin, sollen sie die See begrüssen. Was das? Das Schiff hebt sich, als wolle es—die Wolken küssen—es fällt wieder—jetzt sind wir in der Nordsee! Das Land, die Ufer sind geschwunden.

Kommt, und lockt das Reich der Wellen,
Auf, lasst uns zu Schiffe gehn!
Lasst die stolzen Segel schwellen,
Laue Morgenlüfte wehn.

Seht den blauen Himmelsbogen
Majestätisch ausgespannt!
Bald durchschnitten sind die Wogen,
Schon gesehen wird—Helgoland.

Das Schiff hat Flügel. Was die Damen dort tun? Warum sie sich so flach auf den Boden legen? Blosser Scherz.

Den 23. Mai 1847.

Da ich als Bekenner des Alten Testaments nicht am Pfingsten schreiben durfte, so beeile ich mich heute, es nachzutragen.

Dass ich Pfingsten ziemlich unruhig war, lässt sich denken. Denn ich habe mich zwar auf viele Unannehmlichkeiten gefasst gemacht, aber dass wir so lange hier vor Anker liegen werden, darauf bin ich wahrlich nicht gefasst gewesen. Denn schon sind 5 Tage ins Meer der Vergangenheit geflossen und wir sind noch nicht weit, sind noch immer bei Cuxhaven. Fast die Hälfte der Passagiere waren seekrank. Nur ich, der ich doch sonst schwach bin, habe mich tapfer gehalten, bin sehr gesund und noch einigermaßen vergnügt. Wollte Gott, dass wir nur weiter könnten, es ist immer konträrer Wind. Den ersten Tag Pfingsten war immer stürmisch.

Auch haben wir Minjan gemacht und Herr Lazarus und meine Wenigkeit hat den *Chasan* gespielt. Das Essen will noch immer nicht schmecken und mein ganzer Vorrat geht zu Ende. Gestern habe ich mit dem Koch Streit gehabt, indem er mir kein Wasser zu trinken geben wollte, nur dann, wenn ich in seiner Gegenwart trinken will. Ich aber behauptete mein Recht, und der Koch musste dem Steuermann die Aufsicht über das Wasser abtreten. Überhaupt sind alle Schiffsleute gut. Der Kapitän ein freundlicher herrlicher Mann, der Steuermann sehr gut, die Matrosen gefällig, nur der Koch, die bedeutendste Person, schlecht. Heute ist ihm vom Kapitän aufs strengste anbefohlen, höflich zu sein und nicht zu räsonnieren, denn viele haben ihre Not geklagt, und der Kapitän geholfen.

Das Schiff hat schon grosse Reisen mitgemacht, zwei Mal die Erde umsegelt. Unmöglich, meine lieben Leser, kann ich euch meine Freude beschreiben, die ich empfinde, wenn der König des Schiffes von seinen Reisen und Abenteuern erzählt und zwar in der Abenddämmerung, und wenn die Wogen brausen, die Möven hin- und herfliegen und die beiden Leuchttürme von Cuxhaven und Neuwerk uns ihr melancholisches Licht zusenden. Wenn es dann spät wird, dann gehen wir zu Bette und hören die Wellen an unsere Betten heranschlagen, und das Schiff fängt zu schaukeln an und viele zu br[eu]chen[.]

Es ist ein merkwürdiges Gewühl von Menschen und Unmenschen auf unserem Schiff, viele nette junge Damen und viele nette Herren, aber auch sehr viel Ausschuss. Da spielen zwei Posener Schach, da wieder vier Karten, hier beißen sich zwei Hunde, dort grunzen Schweine und wieder anderwärts krähen Hühner. Bald sitzt eine von den Damen und weint heisse Tränen bei der Erinnerung an ihr

Vaterland, an Mutter, Vater, Geschwister. Dort schmieden zwei Schneider Pläne, wie sie sich in Amerika benehmen werden, wenn ihnen Fortuna günstig sein wird. Kurz es ist ein Gewühl und Treiben, welches nur gesehen, nicht aber beschrieben werden kann. Ein Passagier heitert uns alle auf, nicht etwa durch seine Witze oder durch seine Liebenswürdigkeit, sondern durch seine—Nartheit. Dieser Meteor ist Herr Lazarus aus Hamburg, kein Herr Wedeles oder Seckeles aus Prag, nein ein Hamburger, kein aufgeklärtes Schalet aus Prag, sondern ein aufgelaufener Butterkuchen aus der freien Stadt Hamburg ein ge-, verbildetes junges Deutschland. Fein frisiert, mit Augenglas, behandschuht, mit Jagdtasche stolziert er auf Deck herum und betrachtet uns mitleidig, denn der Glückliche ist—Kajütspassagier.

6 Uhr abends. Der Lotse und Steuermann bemerken, dass der Wind sich auf Nordost gewendet, und versichern, morgen in See stechen zu können. Fröhliche Gesichter überall. Musick, Tanz auf dem Deck. Nur ich stehe einsam in einem Winkel und denke, phantasie über vergangene Zeiten, denke an meine Jugendjahre, an meinen unvergesslichen Vater, an seine Aufopferungen, an seine grenzenlose Liebe; denke an meine gute liebevolle Mutter, die mir der Allmächtige noch eine Reihe von Jahren erhalten möge; denke an meinen teuern Bruder in Jenikau, wie er sich mit seiner lieben Frau freut, kurz denke an alle mir teuren Anverwandten. Wenn ich so der Vergangenheit mich hingebe, denke ich auch der angenehmen Tage, die ich in Strakonitz verlebte im Weil'schen Hause und ach, wenn ich so Cuxhaven vor mir liegen sehe, wünsche ich nur ein Stündchen in Lamstedt noch zubringen zu können. Denn wenn ich morgen von hier segle, wer weiss, ob ich es je wieder zu sehen bekomme. Lamstedt war für mich schon eine Vorschule, wo ich so manches entbehren gelernt habe, obwohl ich es dabei sehr gut gehabt habe. Denn das Köstlichste ist mir da zuteil geworden, ich war frei, unumschränkt frei, geachtet, und wenn auch nicht geliebt, so doch nicht gehasst. Lange, lange werde ich an dich, o Lamstedt, denken, und wenn es mir gut geht, dich wiedersehen.

Es wird spät, ein Gewitter ist im Anzug. Ich will zu Bett, vielleicht gibt Gott guten Wind.

24. Mai 1847.

Endlich, endlich guter Wind, den besten Wind, den wir nur immer erwarten konnten. Die Anker werden gelichtet, die Segel aufgezo-gen, das Schiff sticht in See. Köstliches Wetter, alle vergnügt, wenige seekrank. Schon liegt die Nordsee vor unseren Blicken, nichts

als Himmel und grünes Wasser. Eine Gruppe von Felsen bietet sich unsern Augen dar, es ist Helgoland. Doch segeln wir nur vorbei, immer weiter, weiter in die See. Das Schiff schaukelt, ich bin munter, nur ist mir der Kopf so wunderbar.

5 Uhr abends. Plötzliche Windstille. Aus Südost ist Nordwest geworden. Fast alle Passagiere sind auf'm Deck.

Den 26. Mai 1847.

Gestern war ein schrecklicher Tag. Die meisten der Passagiere waren fürchterlich krank. Die See ging sehr hohl und unruhig, konträrer Wind, das Schiff musste kreuzen. Als ich aufstand, wurde auch ich krank, aber glücklicherweise dauerte meine Krankheit nur zwei Stunden. Unsere Brigg schaukelte fürchterlich. Die Wellen türmten sich zu Felsen, es war grossartig, zu sehen, dabei aber war das Wetter schön. Unten konnte ich nicht aushalten. Es ist köstlich und erquickend anzusehen, wie unser Kapitän zu jedem Kranken ging, ihnen Hoffmannstropfen gab und sich überall als Tröster zeigte. In Not zeigt sich erst der rechte Mensch, dass er Mensch ist. Ich habe mir alles schrecklicher vorgestellt, andere aber nicht. Darum freut mich noch immer die Reise und ich bereue es nicht. Gott gebe, dass es nicht schlimmer werde. Mein Trost ist Gott. Furcht kenne ich nicht. Denn ich glaube an Bestimmung. Und das Schiff kann schaukeln, wie es will, ich werde nicht bange, nur bitte ich um Gesundheit. Heute haben wir schönes Wetter, die See ruhig, aber den Wind immer entgegen. Die stärksten Leute sind krank und ich kleiner Schwächling gesund. Ich wünsche mir nur eine alte Decke, denn des Nachts friert mich. Nicht wahr, liebe Mutter, wenn Sie das wüssten, so würden Sie mir eine schicken. Wenn Sie das Schiff vom Jenikauer Turm betrachten könnten, so würden Sie erschrecken, mich in solcher Gefahr zu sehen. Wenn Sie eine Nusschale in den Kahnteich werfen, so wird sie lange nicht so von einem Ort zum andern geworfen als unsere Brigg. Aber es ist alles Gewohnheit.

Abends 6 Uhr. Plötzliche Windstille. Der Kapitän verkündet anderen Wind. Allen Unannehmlichkeiten kann ich Trotz bieten, nur der Langweile nicht. Ich lese, schlafe, aber die übrige Zeit weiss ich nicht auszufüllen, und doch sind es erst acht Tage. Mich schaudert, wenn ich bedenke noch 40 bis 50 Tage zubringen zu müssen. Alle Mitpassagiere sind freundlich und nett, nur ein Rheinländer befindet sich an Bord, der wirklich Lachen erregt sowohl durch seine Ideen als durch sein sich klug dünkendes Wesen. Er geht nach Amerika um—zu heiraten. Ich gehe zwar auch nach Amerika, um zu heiraten, aber ich denke nicht, mich in Amerika zu verheiraten?

27. Mai.

Der Wind hat sich gedreht und das Schiff fliegt wie ein Colibri. Dabei das schönste Wetter von der Art, wie auf'm Lande. Nur dass man kein grünes Land wohl aber viel grüne Gesichter und grüne Redensarten anzuhören hat.—Heute Mittag erwarte ich, Kartoffel zu erhalten, und ich freue mich so darauf, wie ich mich nicht auf eine Torte auf dem Lande gefreut habe. Das Essen ist hier kaum zu geniessen. Die schlechteste hannöversche Köchin ist eine böhmische Köchin gegen unseren Schiffskoch. Der Kaffee ungeniessbar, der Tee schlecht, aber das Schlimmste ist's mit'm Wasser. Ich komme mit meiner Ration kaum aus. Ein Schiff, welches mit uns zugleich den Hafen verliess, segelt noch immer mit uns, es geht nach den Westindischen Inseln, nach Cuba, es heisst Achilles und zeigt sich lange nicht so tapfer als unser kleiner Vogel, denn es segelt viel langsamer.

9 Uhr. Die Bohnensuppe und Kartoffeln haben köstlich gemundet, der Schlaf erquickt, gelesen hab ich auch, was nun anfangen? Die Jägerzeile oder den Scherl, den Jungfernstieg oder den Waterloo-platz besuchen? Ach ich wäre schon zufrieden, wenn ich den Geschenholm oder den Helmsod besuchen könnte. Ach wie oft denke ich an euch ihr meine Freunde in L., an Petersens! Das Meer ist so still und mein Herz so unruhig, mein Kopf so leer und mein Magen so voll und meine Tasche?! Ach wenn ich an meine Tasche denke, so —, so —. Doch ich will nicht denken. Gott wird's zum Besten lenken. Für meinen philosophischen Bruder Bernard würde diese Reise von grösserem Nutzen sein als für mich. Obwohl ich Maler bin, so könnte mein gelehrter Bruder die See, die Mitreisenden besser schildern und beschreiben können. Saphir⁵ hätte monatelang Stoff, humoristische Vorlesungen zu halten. Ein Glück, dass der Kapitän so nett und belehrend ist. Er erklärte mir heute so manches von der Schiff fahrtskunde, zeigte mir seine Seekarten.—So still die See jetzt auch aussieht, so traue ich dir doch nicht viel, denn du Nordsee kannst auch böse aussehen. Doch bin ich nicht bange. Bald hoffe ich, Frankreich, England zu sehen.

Abends 6 Uhr. Es ist und bleibt immer ein Vergnügen zu reisen und zwar mit Abwechslung. Denn Abwechslung gibt dem Seereisen neuen Reiz und lässt uns seine Einförmigkeit doch einigermaßen ertragen. Ich war unten im Zwischendeck, als ich rufen hörte: "Fisch, Fische!" Schon glaubte ich, wir wären im Kanal und eilte

⁵ Moritz Gottlieb Saphir, the humorist, 1795-1858.

auf Deck. Zu meinem Erstaunen erblicke ich lauter kleine Fahrzeuge, von Fischern geleitet. Ich fragte den Kapitän, ob das englische, französische Fischer wären. Der Kapitän liess das Schiff zu uns kommen, und wir machten Tauschhandel. Sie gaben uns Fische und wir ihnen Graupen, Brantwein und erhielten Seefische, Schollen, Zungen und Schellfische. Wenn ich nicht gewusst hätte, dass ich mich auf der Nordsee befinde, so hätte ich glauben müssen, es sind Seeräuber, so wild und elend sahen die Fischer aus und ihre Sprache konnten wir auch nicht verstehen. Es waren Holländer, die oft 4 bis 5 Wochen hier herumirren und fischen und Tauschhandel treiben. Für einen Fisch verlangten sie bloss ein Stück Brot, so kümmerlich müssen sie sich ernähren. Wenn das Schiff voll ist, dann segeln sie nach Amsterdam und verkaufen sie für guten Preis. Wir sind nur 6 Stunden von Amsterdam entfernt. Mit welcher Freude ich die Leute betrachtete, kann ich euch nicht beschreiben. Ihre Sprache, Geschicklichkeit in Hinsicht des Segelns its wirklich bewundernswert. Die See ist so ruhig wie ein Spiegel. Wir sind alle lustig und vergnügt, denn morgen Mittag lohnt es, Fische!—Am meisten denke ich an meinen theuern Onkel, den Herrn Rabbiner, Denn ich weiss, wie sehr er für das Grossartige empfänglich ist, und wenn ich nun mit ihm teilen könnte, wie glücklich würde ich mich fühlen. Aber so sind wir Menschen: Sowohl im Unglück als im Glück haben wir gerne Mitgenossen.

28. Mai 1847.

Als mich noch fest die Arme des Morpheus umschlungen hielten und schöne angenehme Träume mich umgaukelten, Träume, wo es mir war, als lebte ich auf festem Grund und Boden, auf hannöverschem Boden in Lamstedt, im Cohnschen Hause, und mir zu Mute war, wie wenn meine gewesene freundliche Prinzipalin mit mir sprach, die Kinder mich um Rat fragten, Julie mir Kaffee bot, und Albert mit mir brummte, kurz wo es mir war, als wäre ich wirklich noch da, wo ich so gerne wäre, da wurde ich geweckt von einem Kanonenschuss. Schon dachte ich, es waren Notzeichen, oder Seeräuber wollen mich als Sklaven nach den Steppen Afrikas bringen; oder, dachte ich wieder, wir wären schon vor Texas und wir, ich müsste unter die Fahne des Mars treten, als ich hörte, wir wären nicht weit vom Kanal. Ich ging aufs Deck, die See glich einem blanken Spiegel, so glatt wie Eis, und die Sonne war in ihrem höchsten Glanze, und das Schiff lag—still. Denn es ist eine gänzliche Windstille eingetreten. Schon waren englische Fischer hier, und der Kapitän kaufte Fische, Makrelen, Kabeljaus. Die Makrelen sind kleine, aber ausgezeichnete,

schön blau und bunt gezeichnete Fische und fett. Der Kabeljau hat einen sehr grossen Kopf, ist unförmig, etwas grösser als ein grosser Hecht und in meinen Augen ein hässlicher Fisch. Sehr häufig sieht man hier wilde Enten schwimmen und untertauchen. Land kann man noch immer nicht sehen, denn es ist nebelig.

1 Uhr. Die Fische haben köstlich geschmeckt, und es war eine Lust anzusehen, wie sich alle gefreut haben. Der Wind ist etwas besser, das Lot ist schon gesenkt und es war Sand daran.

4 Uhr. Endlich sehen wir Land und zwar England, das stolze, fabrikreiche England, die östliche Küste davon können wir sehen, überall Schiffe. Der Kapitän hat einen anderen Kurs genommen, mehr nach London zu, bald werden wir im Kanal sein.

Nun muss ich wieder den *Chasan* spielen und meine holde Stimme ertönen lassen. Reb Ahron Adler würde sich wundern, wenn er hörte, dass ich auf der Nordsee als *Chasan* fungiere. Reb Lase ruft gewiss zum graten *Schabes*, und ich, der ich nun besonders fromm und sanft geworden, will mich nun auch den Tag der Ruhe mit Salbung vorbereiten.

5 1/2 Uhr. Einige Meilen vom Kanal, überall Feuerschiffe und Rettungsboote, denn die Einfahrt in den Kanal ist das Gefährlichste von der ganzen Reise nach Amerika. Darum die Rettungsboote. Wenn die vorbeisegelnden Schiffe Schiffbruch leiden, so können die Unglücklichen hier mit Speise und Trank erquickt werden. Die Feuerschiffe sind so viel wie Leuchttürme, denn es gibt sehr viele Sandbänke, und wenn Schiffe darauf geraten, so sind sie verloren. Die Sandbank, wo wir eben jetzt vorbeisegeln, heisst Calloper und dabei liegt ein Feuerschiff. Alle Feuerschiffe werden auf Kosten der britischen Regierung erhalten, vorbeisegelnde Schiffe brauchen nichts zu zahlen. Die gefährlichste Sandbank, wo Millionen Schiffe schon zugrunde gegangen sind, heisst Goodwin. Die Seekarte liegt immer vor der Kajüte, und der Kapitän ist so gütig, mir immer Aufschluss zu geben. Die östliche Küste von England ist gänzlich unsern Blicken entschwunden, und die südliche bietet sich unseren Blicken dar. Auch ist mir zuweilen gestattet, das Fernrohr zur Hand zu nehmen, wo ich alles deutlicher sehen kann. Der Wind ist sehr gut geworden, die Luft kühl.

6 Uhr. Bald geht Sonnabend an, und doch kann ich es nicht unterlassen, meine Gefühle niederzuschreiben. Denn es ist für einen entlaufenen Haberner immer ein seltenes Schauspiel, so nahe England vor sich zu sehen. Die Sec ist voll von englischen Kuttern, die ihre Fische verkaufen wollen und sogar zudringlich sind. Aber wir kaufen

keine mehr, denn die Fische machen uns durstig, und das Wasser ist knapp. Auch wird jetzt getanzt, denn mehrere Passagiere spielen Musik. Für heute muss ich enden, denn—gut Schabes.

Den 30. Mai 1847.

Der gestrige Tag hat uns viel Vergnügen und viel Unruhe gemacht. Freitag Abends kamen wir vor den Kanal. Es war ein Abend, so schön habe ich ihn noch nie gesehen. Denn es war ruhig, die Sonne ging schön und göttlich unter, und ich war nur bestürzt, Dover und Calais in der Nacht zu passieren. Schon sahen wir England schimmern und überall Leuchttürme, auch ging ein französisches Licht auf. Die meisten gingen zu Bette, nur ich und noch fünf Passagiere blieben wach, um doch wenigstens etwas sehen zu können.

Es ist ein eigenes Gefühl, so einsam in der Nacht bei Mondschein zwischen England und Frankreich auf einer schwimmenden Insel herumgehen zu können und dabei an—Jenikau denken zu müssen. Es wurde 12 und ich merkte, dass ich Dover doch nicht zu sehen bekomme, als ich mich zur Ruhe begab. Als ich des Morgens erwachte, strömte der Regen in Massen und Blitze zuckten und der Donner tönte fürchterlich. Der Kapitän sagte mir, es war ein Sturm, und ich freute mich, ihn verschlafen zu haben. Um 6 Uhr kamen vier Engländer an Bord und kauften Tabak; es schienen sehr anständige Leute zu sein. Durch den Sturm sind wir wieder in die Nordsee zurückgeschleudert worden, und ich hatte nun die Freude, zu vernehmen, Dover binnen einer Stunde sehen zu können. Wirklich erblickten wir in kurzer Zeit Dover, Castel Folkstown und andere Städte und Dörfer, kurz die englische Küste, welche einen eigenen Anblick gewährt. Sie besteht meist aus Kreidebergen. Auch sahen wir die Eisenbahn und den Bahnhof, der von Dover nach London führt. Ich war ganz entzückt, mich in einer nie geglaubten Nähe Englands zu befinden, denn wir fuhren dicht am Lande vorbei. Um 2 Uhr wurden wir gezwungen, zu kreuzen, und kamen der französischen Küste ganz nahe. Der Kanal wollte uns auch zeigen, dass er böse werden kann. Wir bekamen konträren Wind und Flut, und die meisten wurden krank. Denn es war ein kleiner niedlicher Sturm, die Wellen statteten uns ihre Besuche aufs Deck ab. Spät suchte ich mein Lager, und ich hatte zu tun, es zu finden und war so glücklich, die ganze Nacht gut durchzuschlafen. Heute ist schönes Wetter und alle sind munter. Wir sind aber immer noch vor England. Dass ich noch immer mich so wohl fühle, während die Stärksten krank werden, mag wohl daher rühren, weil ich mässig im Essen und Trinken bin. Ich bin beinahe immer hungrig. Auch nehme ich häufig Purgierpillen, welches sehr zweckmässig ist.

11 Uhr. Soeben waren wieder Fischer hier. Der Kapitän hat Fische gekauft, aber nicht für unseren Magen.

12 Uhr. Das Essen hat schmecken müssen, denn der Hunger ist der beste Koch. Wir hatten Pudding mit Pflaumen, auch habe ich von des Kapitäns Pudding gekostet. Am schlimmsten plagt mich der Durst, und ich habe wenig Wasser, denn die Ration, die wir erhalten, ist nur gering. Das Wasser ist schlecht, nur Elbwasser, und stinkt schon, und trotzdem schmeckt es mir jetzt besser als das beste Bier.

2 Uhr. Noch immer sind wir gezwungen zu kreuzen und sind noch immer vor England. Soeben haben wir die niedliche Stadt Hastings gesehen. Es liegt dicht am Wasser und hat ein Seebad, prachtvolle Gebäude, Fabriken. Noch bekommen wir Brighton und Portsmouth zu sehen.

5 Uhr. Sehr stilles schönes Wetter. Soeben ist uns ein Dreimaster von Westindien begegnet, und unser Kapitän sprach durch Signale mit dem anderen Kapitän, denn sie sind beide gute Bekannte. Unser Kapitän meint, dass wir guten Wind kriegen. Es ist merkwürdig, wie gross die Schifffahrtskunst ist, und wie sie das alles im Voraus bestimmen, ob gut oder schlecht, dabei die Gewandheit und die Energie, es gibt ein ewiges Kommandieren und alle müssen pünktlich gehorchen. Wir sehen immer Land, und wie sehnüchtig ich darauf hinblicke, lässt sich denken. Ach könnte ich nur einen Augenblick auf festem Boden sein, wie glücklich wäre ich. Und wenn wir auf dem Lande wirklich sind, fühlen wir uns denn wirklich glücklich? Aber so ist's mit dem Menschen: immer Wünsche und nie Zufriedenheit. Und zwischen Wunsch und Erfüllung liegt ein weiter Weg. So wünsche ich mir, nur noch das Glück haben zu können, noch einmal meine teuren Zurückgebliebenen sehen zu können. Obs mir gewährt werden wird? Ich will es hoffen. Ich lebe nun wie Gott in Frankreich, ohne Sorgen, denn für's erste habe ich zu essen, zu lesen, zu—wenig zu trinken, und wie es mir im Lande der Freiheit ergehen wird, lasse ich den lieben Gott sorgen. Wenn wir nur hier im Kanal keinen Sturm bekommen! Denn wir befinden uns auf den gefährlichsten Plätzen, auf Stellen, wo Millionen Schiffe zugrunde gegangen sind. Sind wir nur den Kanal passiert, dann ist wenig Gefahr vorhanden, und wir können mit allen Winden, nicht nur mit West, segeln. der Kanal ist 90 Meilen lang, zwischen Dover und Calais 5-8 Meilen breit und am Ende wird er 30 Meilen breit. Wenn der Wind gut ist, so kann man die 90 Meilen in 30 Stunden zurücklegen, während wir schon im Kanal drei Tage beinahe zubringen. Es befinden sich zwanzig Kinder an Bord und es lässt sich

denken, welchen Lärm wir erdulden müssen. Überhaupt gibt es oft Streit und Zank, und der Kapitän muss den Richter spielen. Nur schade, er ist zu gut. Es gibt vielerlei Sorten von Menschen hier, vielerlei Temperamente und tausend Sakrament.

Abends 9 Uhr. Mit gefalteten Händen dank ich Gott Dir, dass ich das Glück habe, diese Reise machen zu können. Denn soeben betrachte ich einen nie so herrlich gesehenen Anblick: die Sonne versinkt ins Meer, spiegelt sich ab und das Wasser ist so glatt. Ich stehe versunken da und blicke mit Verwunderung und Andacht zu Dir, o Schöpfer, empor. Denn wer noch nie die Sonne, wer noch nie den Mond hat aufgehen sehen während einer Seereise, der, ja der hat nichts gesehen. Die anderen tanzen, ich aber bin in den herrlichen Anblick versunken und kann die Allmacht Gottes, obwohl ich schon, so lang ich lebe, Beweise gehabt, dennoch nicht genug bewundern. Wahrlich wer da Gott nicht im Staube anbetet, der hat keine Religion.

Den 31. Mai 1847.

Das köstlichste Wetter, den gewünschten Wind, nur sehr schwach. Ich habe eine Gegend von der Küste aufgenommen und gut gezeichnet, wollte sie kolorieren, aber die Sonne ist zu stark. Unser Mitgefährte Achilles ist wieder dicht neben uns und beide Kapitäne diskutieren. Wir sind noch immer im Kanal, die Küste entfernt.

3 Uhr. Noch immer im Kanal. Es ist eine gänzliche Windstille eingetreten. Nur im Zwischendeck ist es nicht windstill, sondern Windhosen und Wasser oder vielmehr Zanksprudel zeigen sich immer mehr und mehr. Müssiggang ist aller Laster Anfang, und da die Meisten unbeschäftigt gehen und doch nicht so ganz ohne Beschäftigung sein wollen, so—zanken sie sich zum Zeitvertreib und vertreiben den nicht zankenden Leuten die Zeit. Es ist wirklich hier ein Lärm und ein Leben, das an und für sich sehr langweilig ist. Wenn ich die Räume unseres Schiffes durchsuche, so stosse ich auf manche sonderbare Gruppe, die wenn nicht malerisch, so doch gewiss malheurisch ist. Jeder dünkt sich Herr und niemand Knecht. Der eine meint, da er nach Amerika geht, sich schon hier die Freiheit nehmen zu dürfen und mit Ohrfeigen spendieren zu dürfen. Aber der Kapitän tritt dann als Präsident auf und erklärt, dass solches auf unserer kleinen Republik nicht geduldet wird. Viele spielen Karten oder tanzen. Ich hingegen kann nur lesen und denken. Sehr verschiedenartig sind uns die Rollen von unsrem Herrn Direktor auf dieser Weltbühne zugeteilt worden. So mancher muss eine Rolle übernehmen,

die er durchaus nicht geneigt ist, durchzuführen. Herr L., unser Komiker, mit seinen paar Unzen Gehirn lebt wie ein Fürst und viele müssen in dem engen Raum eines Zwischendeckes vor Dunst, Qualm und Ärger verschmachten, ohne der schlechten Kost zu gedenken. Doch ich will nicht beneiden. Denn wenn ich wirklich jemand beneiden wollte, so wäre es Furth in Hamburg, der nun auf Besuch nach Hause reist und seine Eltern und Geschwister sehen wird. Wer weiss, wann es mir wird gestattet werden, den glücklichsten Augenblick meines Lebens zu geniessen?! —

6 Uhr. Soeben erblicken wir die Insel Wight, die beinahe so sich ausnimmt, wie der Westerberg bei Lamstedt. Meine Freundinnen haben mir Schokolade angeboten, und ich, der ich kein Kostverächter bin, habe natürlich den süßen Antrag angenommen.

Den 1. Juni 1847.

Gott gebe, dass ich den 1. Juli in New York feiern könnte. Aber es sieht leider noch nicht danach aus, denn wir segeln noch immer im Kanal. Ein Glück, dass wir wunderschönes Wetter haben. Ich lese fleissig englisch, malen lässt sich hier nicht gut, denn das Schiff schaukelt heute mehr wie sonst. Das Seewasser hat merkwürdige Eigenschaften. Es nimmt keine gewöhnliche Seife an und durch das Waschen bilden sich auf der Haut des Körpers kleine Blattern, die fürchterlich brennen, aber sehr gesund sein sollen.

3 Uhr. Soeben habe ich das Vergnügen gehabt, in der Kajüte eine Tasse Kaffee in Gesellschaft des Kapitäns zu trinken und Schiffsbrot mit Butter zu essen. Es ist merkwürdig, dass ich so eine Kleinigkeit notiere. Aber es ist eine zu seltene Periode meines Seelebens, als dass ich es nicht bemerken sollte, wenn ich eine Tasse Kaffee mit dem Höchsten des Schiffes zusammen schlürfe. Denn dieses Glück hat nicht jeder Passagier?!

Wenn die Zeitungen von Unruhen in Böhmen, Berlin, Bayern usw. melden, so kann ich von Unruhen zwischen Frankreich und England berichten. Denn heute ist die Verteilung des Roggenbrotes aufgehoben und Schiffszwieback verteilt worden, aber so knapp, dass unmöglich ein erwachsener Mann satt werden kann. Viele haben zu Robespierre's Fahne schwören wollen und revoltiert, aber ich, obwohl Jacobiner, habe ich beigestimmt; denn zum Glück bin ich ein kleiner Österreicher und habe daher keinen Mut. Ein Rheinländer wollte den Danton und ein polnischer Jude den Cromwell spielen. Aber der Kapitän zeigte, dass er weder Karl I. noch Louis XVI. sei, und alles blieb beim alten. Das Schiffsbrot sieht so aus wie unser Osterbrot, nur kleiner und ganz dick, Reibmazzeh.

5 Uhr. Nun habe ich zum ersten Mal ein Linienschiff gesehen, ein englisches Kriegsschiff. Es ist sehr gross und unser Schiff ist ein kleines Boot dagegen, voller Kanonen, es segelt nach Portsmouth.

8 Uhr. So einförmig das Seereisen scheint, so bietet es doch mannigfache Abwechslungen dar. Fürs erste ist uns jede Kleinigkeit von Wichtigkeit, fürs zweite haben wir nicht anderes zu tun als zu beobachten. Der Kanal ist so wie eine Strasse, welche von Wien nach Prag führt, nur etwas grossartiger und nicht gepflastert. Auf vier-rädrigen Wagen kann man hier zwar nicht fahren, aber man kann doch fortkommen, wenn nur der Wind günstig ist. Man sieht hier Schiffe von allen Nationen, und so wie man bei uns immer Wagen sieht, so sieht man hier grosse und kleine Schiffe. Soeben segelt dicht neben uns ein holländisches Auswandererschiff mit 140 Passagieren, es geht nach Baltimore und ist in 9 Tagen von Amsterdam hierher gekommen. Unsere Musikanten spielen und die Leute vis à vis klatschen Applaus. Der Kanal wird immer breiter, man sieht kein Land mehr und doch kommen wir nicht viel weiter.

Mittwoch, den 2. Juni 1847.

Statt vorwärts zu schreiten, hat uns der Strom zurückgeschleudert und wir sind noch immer im Kanal, denn es ist fast windstill. Heute sind es 14 Tage, als wir Hamburg verliessen, und doch nicht weiter. Aber man muss mit Geduld gewappnet sein, sonst verbittert man sich nur das Leben. Ein Glück, dass so herrliches Wetter ist.

4 Uhr. Für einen Böhmen ist eine Seereise durchaus nichts; denn zum Seereisen gehört Geduld und diese Eigenschaft besitzt nur ein Deutscher. Am geduldigsten sind hier die Deutschen, wenn sie nur zu essen haben. Das Essen ist so schlecht, dass die Schweine in Böhmen delikater dagegen speisen, kaum geniessbar, aber ich nehme gerne alles hin, denn ich gehe ja meinem Zweck entgegen. Ich habe schon so manches entbehren müssen. Niemand sieht es mir hier an, wie ich erzogen bin, daher wundern sie sich, dass mir die Kost nicht mundet. Viele trösten sich und meinen, wenn sie nur einmal in Amerika landen, so fliegen ihnen die Tauben gebraten zu. Aber ich mache mich auf alle Unannehmlichkeiten gefasst und betrachte dieses Schiffsleben als eine gute Vorschule und bin daher immer lustig. An Plymouth sind wir schon vorbei, der Kanal wird immer breiter, heute haben wir jedoch sehr deutlich Land sehen können. Ein Glück, dass der Kapitän so nett ist, und ich doch ein Stündchen in der ersten Kajüte zubringen darf.

So alt ich bin, habe ich noch nie menschliche Hilfe in Anspruch genommen, noch niemand hat mir aus der Not geholfen, noch immer

Gott durch meine wenigen schlechten Talente. In Strakonitz habe ich mich quälen müssen, in Lamstedt habe ich die traurigsten Tage meines Lebens verbracht und mit kleinen Kindern mich abgegeben, so habe ich mir durch mein wenig Wissen forthelfen müssen. Bei meiner Abreise versprochen mir meine Freunde, mich mit Lebensmitteln zu unterstützen, welches sie auch 14 Tage hindurch taten. Sie gaben mir Kaffee und Brot, kurz sie taten viel, aber sie versprochen mir es. Aber zu wenig daran gewöhnt, Menschen beizustehen, besonders einen Menschen, der noch *nie* ist unterstützt worden, liessen sie es nur zu sehr fühlen, dass sie ihn unterstützen. Ihr aber, meine teuren Anverwandten, wisst ja, dass ich ein Zweig der Rosenbaumschen Familie bin und Almosen nicht so leicht nehmen kann. Habe mich heute freiwillig entschlossen, zu hungern und zu verschmachten, als—Speisen zu nehmen. Gott, der mir bis *hierher* geholfen, wird mir auch weiter helfen. So gut ich es gewohnt bin, so kann ich doch gut entbehren, und die Reise kann ja doch nicht mehr so gar lange dauern? Nur keine menschliche Hilfe; denn wer sich auf Freunde, fremde Freunde verlässt, der, der ist übel dran.

Den 3, Juni.

Bald sind wir aus dem Kanal und haben Europa den Rücken gezeigt und befinden uns in der spanischen See. Im ganzen haben wir bis jetzt, wenn auch eine lange, doch eine glückliche Reise gehabt. Denn viele Schiffe bringen hier im Kanal dreissig Tage und noch länger zu. Das Wetter ist schön, der Wind gut, nur zu schwach. Aber das Schiff schaukelt doch stark, denn das Wasser ist etwas unruhig. Soeben erblicke ich noch den letzten Leuchtturm. Zwei Schiffe segeln jetzt dicht neben uns, der Holländer und ein englisches Schiff, eine Fregatte mit 400 Personen, es geht nach Quebeck. Alle sind munter, nur ich habe immer Zahnweh und bin daher verdriesslich. Unser Kapitän hat Flaggen gewechselt mit den Engländern, um zu erfahren, was für Landsleute wir wären. Unser Kapitän sagte, er wäre ein Däne. Sogleich zog der englische Kapitän seine Flagge herunter und liess sich in kein Gespräch weiter ein. Unser Kapitän tat dasselbe.

3 Uhr. Das Land, die Küste ist uns verschwunden, die Wasserfläche ausgedehnter geworden. Das Wasser ist statt grün in blau verwandelt, die Wellen höher und unruhiger geworden. Nur wenige Schiffe sind noch zu sehen, desto mehr Fische aber und zwar grosse, die immer auf- und untertauchen. Wir haben die Jungfer Europa verlassen, den mächtigen Armen dieser Jungfrau sind wir entrückt und sind im Atlantischen Ozean. Die Wunder der Natur zeigen sich zwar in allem, was der Herr geschaffen, von dem Floh bis zum

Elefant. Aber hier im Ozean, wo die Natur sich nur fürchterlich zeigt, kommt sie uns prosaischen Menschen noch grossartiger vor als auf einer Flur von Blumen. Denn diesen Anblick sind wir gewöhnt, der Anblick des Weltmeeres ist uns neu, gross und erhaben. Wir haben nun noch 900 Meilen und dann können wir im Hafen unserer Wünsche landen. Zurück können wir nicht mehr. Als einst mein guter Bruder Moriz mich in Prag allein zurückliess, wurde es mir da im Dringerlischen Hause so unheimlich, dass ich die Flucht ergriff und früher nach Hause kam als mein Bruder. Und nun schwimme ich allein mir selbst überlassen auf dem Weltmeere und so unheimlich auch die Wellen murmeln, so sind es doch zarte Melodien gegen das Gemurmel einer Frau des verewigten M. Dringerles.

8 Uhr. Nun gehe ich zu Bett. Zum ersten Mal schläft vielleicht ein Jenikauer auf dem unsicheren, trügerischen, wankelmütigen Bette. Mit welchen Gefühlen ich heute zu Bett gehe, kann ich wahrlich nicht beschreiben. Bald denk ich an Jenikau, bald an Strakonitz und wieder bald an das Cohnsche Haus, an das weiche Bett in der Sicherheit. Und hier? Wenn in der Nacht ein Sturm kommt, wenn die Wellen toben, die Wogen sich zu Felsen türmen und gierig gleich dem Tiger uns angrinsen? Aber ist hier nicht ebenso Gott der Vater wie auf festem Lande? Stehen wir hier nicht ebenso wie überall unter seinem Schutze? Auf dem Lande haben wir auch oft Stürme zu erdulden, und der Herr hilft. So grossmächtig er sich auf dem Lande zeigt, ebenso mächtig und barmherzig wird er sich uns hier zeigen. Wie fröhlich und vergnügt war ich am 18. März nachmittags, als ich plötzlich rufen hörte: Feuer! Feuer. Und was musste ich nicht am Abend schon sehen, welche Verwüstung! Mehrere Menschen verbrannt, an 40 Familien arm und unglücklich, und das war auf festem Boden. Also der Herr kann sich hier wie dort schrecklich zeigen. Seiner grenzenlosen Güte habe ich mich ganz anheimgestellt und will daher ruhig und sanft schlafen. Mögen sanfte Träume mich umgaukeln, Träume, die mich versetzen, als wäre ich da, wo ich so gerne sein wollte.

Freitag, den 4. Juni.

Unter dem Wallen und Brausen und Zischen der Wogen bin ich nach erquickendem Schläfe erwacht und habe zu meiner Freude bemerkt, dass das Schiff vorwärts schreitet, in vier Stunden acht deutsche Meilen zurücklegt, und so kommen wir doch unserem Ziele etwas näher. Die Wellen brausen heute mehr als sonst, und das Schiff schaukelt ziemlich, aber ich bin es schon gewöhnt. Es ist überhaupt alles im Leben nur Gewohnheit. Und wenn auch das An-

genehme leicht sich angewöhnen lässt, so kann man auch an das Unangenehme sich gewöhnen. In Gedanken freue ich mich schon im Voraus auf das herrliche New York. Denn der Kapitän macht mich sehr gespannt und in der Tat stelle ich mir vor, noch mehr als ein Wien zu finden, freilich nicht das herzliche freundliche Wien, nicht den Unterhalt, die Musik, aber das grosse Wien meine ich da, anzutreffen, mit mehr Regelmässigkeit, aber auch mit viel mehr Ernst. Ich wäre froh, wenn ich in dieser Stadt bleiben könnte und nicht gezwungen würde, weiter ins Innere zu gehen. Doch wozu heute schon denken, wie, wann, wo. Gott wird helfen.

3 Uhr. Der Wind ist gut, die See etwas unruhig und ich etwas unwohl, jedoch habe ich mich soeben ergötzt an dem Anblick mehrerer Fische, die sehr dicht ans Schiff schwammen und ungeheuer gross waren. Haifische, Walfische wollen noch immer nicht erscheinen.

4 Uhr. Die Sonne neigt sich gute Nacht sagend und fliehet dann und der Tag ist bald zu Ende. Unrasiert, mit wochentäglichen Kleidern muss ich den Schabbes begrüssen. Die Wellen stimmen heute den Borchu an, trotz Sulzer in Wien.⁶

Den 6. Juni 1847:

Wieder auf Sonnabend im Reich der Vergangenheit, wieder ein langweiliger Tag zurückgelegt und zwar ein sehr unruhiger Tag, denn die See ging hohl. Doch war und ist der Wind noch immer sehr gut. Das Schiff schaukelt so stark, dass wir kaum essen können, noch weniger schreiben. Die Langeweile führt hier ihr Szepter, und wir müssen ihr unbedingt gehorchen. Des Nachts konnte ich auch nicht schlafen, denn ich schwebte in Angst, von meiner Lagerstätte hinunter zu schweben oder vielmehr zu stürzen. Viele meiner Mitgenossen denken und beklagen, nicht lieber zu Hause geblieben zu sein. Aber ich versichere, dass es mir noch *nicht* leid tut, und dass ich es mir viel schrecklicher gedacht habe, trotzdem es *schrecklich genug* ist.

Abends 6 Uhr. Der Kapitän und der Steuermann gingen eine Wette mit Herrn Unger ein, dass sie nämlich einen von den Passagieren oben auf Deck so verstecken können, dass ihn niemand finden soll. Sie suchten den Dünsten heraus (ein Glück, dass ich klein bin und man mich nicht bemerkte) und nahmen einen Glückstetter Zigarrenmacher, steckten ihn in einen Sack und versteckten ihn mit dem Bedeuten, nicht zu mucksen. Herr Unger und wir alle liefen nun, um zu suchen. Herr Unger steckte nun den Kopf dicht zum Schatze, als plötzlich der Steuermann einigen Matrosen winkte und sie nach

⁶ Solomon Sulzer, 1804-1890, recognized as the regenerator of synagogal music.

Gräfenberger Art mehrere Eimer Seewasser auf Herrn Unger gossen.⁷ Doch der im Sacke steckende Geist wollte zeigen, dass er keine Lust habe, ein Seebad zu nehmen und bemühte sich, den Sack herunterzunehmen, als auch er unter dem Gelächter der nicht begossenen Menge so nass wurde, dass er einer Wasserhose glich. Wenn auch der Spass ein bisschen seemännisch war, so war er doch an und für sich unterhaltend und gewiss kein trockener Witz. Wir waren recht vergnügt, nur das begossene Subjekt, der das Objekt unserer Unterhaltung war, ärgerte sich und stürzte in Verzweiflung und nach Rache schnaubend nach seiner Koje, wo er wehmütig und sehnsuchtsvoll nach dem heimatlichen Herde blickt und seine Reise nach Amerika verwünscht.

Den 7. Juni.

Immer guter Wind, über 100 Meilen nun südlicher als Hamburg und von Hamburg schon mehr als 340 entfernt. Während unserer Mahlzeit hatten wir das Vergnügen, ein Ehepaar, ein auf dem Lande noch nie gesehenes Ehepaar zu sehen, das nur zu bald wieder verschwand. Ein Herr Walfisch und eine Frau Walfischin machten auf der Oberfläche des Meeres eine Promenade, und wir betrachteten sie wie Meerungeheuer. Schon in der Ferne konnte man erkennen, dass es ein Walfisch sein müsse, denn er spritzte immer Wasser aus, er kann ungefähr 25-30 Fuss lang gewesen sein. Der Kapitän meint, dass ein einziger dieser Fische schon imstande sei, ein Schiff wie das unsere leck zu machen. Wir konnten einen deutlich sehen, den Herrn Gemahl nämlich; die Frau Gemahlin war vermutlich in den inneren Gemächern des Meeres beschäftigt. Hoffentlich werden wir Gelegenheit haben, noch mehr zu sehen.

Heute Abend habe ich den Koch gespielt und habe mir eine Suppe aus Zwieback, Butter, Salz, heissem Wasser zubereitet und habe sie doch nicht essen können. Denn obwohl ich im Hannöverschen war, so habe ich das Kochen dennoch nicht erlernt.

Dienstag, den 8. Juni 1847.

Wenn ich gewusst hätte, dass das Seeleben oder vielmehr eine Seereise so einförmig ist und nur immer das ewige Einerlei obwaltet, so hätte ich nicht angefangen, ein Tagebuch zu führen; und aufgeben kann und will ich es dennoch nicht. Denn es soll *mir* wenigstens ein Erinnerungsbuch werden. Andere amüsieren kann ich mittels meiner

⁷ In the little Silesian village Gräfenberg, Vincence Priessnitz, the inventor of the cold-water cure, started the first and then famous hydropathic sanatorium.

schwachen Feder dennoch nicht und einen Münchhausen zu spielen, erlaubt mir schon meine wenige Klugheit nicht. Ich will es daher fortsetzen und hoffen, dass ich in der Folge mehr Gelegenheit haben werde, Neuigkeiten und interessante Begebenheiten einzutragen.

Wir haben heute eine gänzliche Windstille und kommen daher wenig oder gar nicht vorwärts. Ich hätte es nicht erwartet, den mächtigen Ozean so spiegelglatt zu sehen, wie er sich uns heute zeigte. Das Wasser ist so blau wie Indigo, man kann heute sehr weit sehen, und wenn ich so meine Blicke umherschweifen lasse, so deucht mir immer, ich müsste doch mein liebes Jenikau sehen. Aber da taucht ein grosser Klippfisch auf und überzeugt mich, dass ich mich irre. Ich wende dann meine Blicke von dem Gewöhnlichen ab und besteige wieder den Tartarus, das Zwischendeck. Zum Glück bin ich Maler und meine Phantasie malt mit einer unglaublichen Schnelle eine Reihe von Gemächern mit Schlafstätten und ich lege mich dann in meine Hängematte und wähne, zu träumen, fein zu schlafen, fein zu wohnen. Der Wahn ist kurz, der Dalles ist lang.⁸

6 Uhr. Während die Jägerzeile von Equipagen wimmelt und Jung und Alt, Gross und Klein, nach dem Prater eilt, um sich an dem Anblick der schönen Natur und an den schönen Wienerinnen zu weiden, während in Hamburg der Trichter, Alsterhallen, Elbpavillon von Lust und Musik und Vergnügungen aller Art widerhallt, und während in dem lieben Jenikau nun Jung und Alt nach Schul eilt, um *Mincha* zu beten, und während meine guten Lamstedter in ländlicher unschuldiger Freude den Abend zubringen, schwimme ich hier auf dem Ozean und stehe auf dem Deck und denke an die Vergangenheit und freue mich nicht der Gegenwart. Doch bieten sich zuweilen Augenblicke dar, wo auch ich mich freue, zu leben, zu reisen. Jeder Fisch, der erscheint, wird von mir mit Staunen und Bewunderung angegafft, und wenn ich gar ein Schiff in unserer Nähe erblicke, so ist meine Freude gross. Nachmittag segelte ein Schwede dicht an uns vorüber, und der Kapitän sprach mit ihm. Er kam aus Bahia und hat die Fahrt in 45 Tagen zurückgelegt. Beide wünschten sich gute Reise.

Mittwoch, den 9. Juni 1847.

Moses musste wirklich mit einer grossen Portion Geduld von der Vorsehung verproviantiert gewesen sein, um mit solch einer zügellosen Herde umgehen zu können, sie zu leiten, zu richten. Wenn ich heute an den Auszug Israels aus Aegypten denke, so muss ich staunen über

⁸ Parody of the well known verse by Friedrich Schiller: "Der Wahn ist kurz, die Reu ist lang."

den Mut und die Ausdauer des grössten Mannes, der da war und nie sein wird in Israel. Denn von jeher haben sich meine Glaubensgenossen unruhig und ungeduldig, rechthaberischer betragen als die Bekenner des Neuen Testaments, und wenn unsere Vorfahren zanksüchtig waren, so schreibe ich es dem rohen Zeitalter zu. Aber wenn Leute im 19. Jahrhundert unter der Leitung eines sanften Mannes, wenn auch kein Moses, Hader und Zwietracht schmieden und wäñhen, in den Zeiten des Faustrechts zu leben, was soll, was kann man dazu sagen? Wollen sie sich etwa schon während der Fahrt die Freiheit mittels Rippenstössen erkaufen? Tut nicht nötig, Amerika ist das Land, wo man ohne Rippenstösse doch so frei sein kann, frei zu sein. Und um was zanken sie, die Überbleibsel Israels auf dem wüsten Meere, warum balgen sie sich denn herum? Sehnen sie sich etwa nach den Fleischtöpfen Deutschlands oder nach Wasser? Hier gibt es keine Felsen zu schlagen, und unser Moses versteht nur das Schlagen auf deutsche israelitische Rücken. Der liebe Gott hat den hartherzigen Pharaos mit Plagen geschlagen, weil er sie nicht wollte ziehen lassen. Unsere Pharaos haben uns ziehen lassen und nun werden wir mit Plagen gestraft? Doch neugierig höre ich euch fragen: Mit was für Plagen hat euch der Höchste denn heimgesucht? Ist es das Heer der Heuschrecken? Fliesst Blut unter euch? Oder waltet auf den deutschen Schiffen aegyptische Finsternis, sodass ein Jude den anderen nicht erkennen kann? Oder sind untergeordnete Wesen, die die Gottheit auserlesen, zu umschweben den Kasten, den Ort, wo das Höchste der Menschen, der Geist tront? Sind es jene mehrbeinigen Wesen, die die gemeine Welt "Läuse" nennt, die es wagen, euch zu verfolgen, zu quälen, zu beißen? Ja, ja meine teuren Leser, ja, meine gute Mutter, ich, ich befinde mich an einem Orte, wo diese unberufenen Gäste hausen, mit Blitzesschnelle sich verbreiten, und ich kann nur zittern. Noch haben sie sich nicht in meine heilige Nähe gewagt, noch, o Mutter, ist dein Kind rein, ja, gute Brüder, noch könnt Ihr mit Stolz sagen, unser Bruder ist unschuldig, ist von der aegyptischen Plage nicht heimgesucht. Darum heute der Streit, der Zank, und was das Schlimmste, zwischen zwei Juden, der eine behauptet, dass der andere im Besitze jener Schneläufer wäre, und der Habende wollte nicht Recht geben, und da wollte der erstere mit Prügel es zu beweisen suchen, als der Steuermann kam und mit Seemannshänden beiden auf das eindringlichste bewies, was es heisse, zu zanken. Der Kapitän mischte sich wenig drein und alles blieb beim alten. Die Juden zanken sich, die zarten Tierchen kriechen, und der Herr gebe, dass sie mich mit ihren Besuchen verschonen möchten.

Dienstag, den 15. Juni 1847.

Acht Tage sind im Laufe der Zeit entschwunden, acht Tage voller Langweile und Unannehmlichkeit, des Verdrusses, des Hungers und ungünstigen Windes, acht Tage voller Leiden und nie gedachten Qualen und ich lebe noch, schreibe und lache sogar. Während der ganzen Zeit hatten wir immer ungünstigen Wind und mussten kreuzen, sodass wir vergangene Woche bei den Azoren waren und nun nach Grönland steuern. Ihr lieben Freunde, die ihr nun im Sonnenschein unter Rosendüften schwebt, grüne Erbsen und Kirschen geniesset und euch überhaupt an allen Genüssen der gütigen Natur erfreut und wahrlich keinen Begriff von Mühseligkeiten habt, werdet mich feig nennen und wähnen, dass auch ich mich nach den Fleischtöpfen Deutschlands zurücksehne. Aber dem ist nicht so, nur Langweile und nun auch Unwohlsein machen mich wie jeden missgestimmt. Es sind nun vier Wochen verflossen, und wir sind noch immer nicht weit, kaum die Hälfte haben wir zurückgelegt, und doch wähnt man in Europa, in vier bis fünf Wochen in Amerika sein zu können?! Während dieser Zeit habe ich nur ein einziges Mal Fleisch gegessen; denn es ist so schlecht, dass die Meisten sagen, es wäre Pferdefleisch, und leider lässt es sich glauben. Tee, Kaffee kaum zu geniessen, Wasser wenig und schlecht, nur Erbsen, Bohnen geniessbar. Das Wetter immer so schlecht, dass man kaum schlafen kann und immer in Gefahr schwebt, aus dem Bette zu schweben. Dabei die Sorge, wie es in Amerika sein wird. Es ist wahrlich ein Leben voller Unannehmlichkeiten, aber das alles ertrage ich gern, wenn nicht so viel Gesindel hier wäre, die unwissend massiv sind und sich unausstehlich machen. Vorgestern Nacht war das Meer so unruhig, dass die Seite des Bugspriets ganz im Wasser stand. Euch das Seeleben anschaulich machen zu wollen, wäre ebenso unmöglich als einem Blindgeborenen Farben erklären zu können. Wenn ihr aber einen Begriff davon haben wollt, so—so reist selbst hin, nur um Gotteswillen nicht im Zwischendeck und mit Bremer Schiffen, in der Kajüte. Fräulein Julie will ich es raten, nur in der Kajüte zu reisen, wo nicht, lieber es ganz aufzugeben. Nur derjenige, der im Zwischendeck gereist, wird mich begreifen und mir Recht geben. Ihr aber, die ihr noch nicht vom heimatlichen Herde auf die brausenden tosenden Wogen euch gewagt, werdet bei einer guten Suppe mich verspotten.

Heute ist Belumer Markt; in Lamstedt, alles beschäftigt, nach Osten zu reisen, um mit dem Dampfboot Elbe den Oststrom hinabzufahren. Die Östinger Damen alle geschmückt, besteigen das prachtvolle Schiff, unter Begleitung schöner Musik flieht der Dampfer den schönen Strom hinab, Oberndorf, Gebersdorf, Neuhaus vorbei

und landet in Belum. Nichts als fröhliche Gesichter überall, Karussell, Harlekins, Musik, prachtvolle Zelte mit Genüssen aller Art bieten sich dem Ankömmling dar, Freunde, Bekannte begrüßen ihn, reichen ihm die Hände, heissen ihn willkommen, führen ihn in das Freudenburgsche Zelt und da wird gegessen, getrunken, gesprochen von der angenehmen Gegenwart und von vergangenen Zeiten. Da spielen böhmische Musikanten, dort bieten Braunschweiger Kuchenmädchen ihre Delikatessen feil. Sieh, da kommt Albert her, grüsst, wird begrüsst, hier spielt Sandel, dort tanzt Kusel, die Hamburger fragen, wo der Rosenbaum wäre. Ach, sagt Albert (er seufzt, denn er erinnert sich, dass wir vergangenes Jahr recht vergnügt in Belum waren) ach, trüben sie mir meine Freude nicht. Rosenbaum hat den verrückten Gedanken gehabt, nach Amerika zu reisen. Ja, meine Lieben, guten Unterhalt und Prost Jahrmarkt! Wenn es mir gut geht, so lasse ich nächstes Jahr den ganzen Belumer Markt zu mir kommen. Für heute muss ich mit Bohnensuppe zufrieden sein.

Es ist heute nachmittags so kalt und neblig, dass ich mich nicht genug wundern kann, und Möven fliegen hin und her. Der Kapitän sagt mir, wir sind nicht mehr weit von New-Foundland, darum so kalt und neblig. Es rührt einzig und allein von den Eisbergen her. Es ist ein eigenes Gefühl, sich in einer Gegend befinden zu müssen, wo es so kalt und unangenehm ist, während man weiss, dass alles in Deutschland Kirschen essen und spazieren gehen kann. Doch beschwichtige ich meinen Herrn Magen und vertröste ihn, indem ich ihm die Versicherung gebe, ihm in New York das Doppelte zu geben, nota bene, wenn ich Geld haben werde?!

Mittwoch, den 16. Juni 1847.

So gern ich auch mein Tagebuch mit Notizen bereichern wollte, so kann ich es leider nicht, indem fast nichts vorfällt, was meinen lieben Lesern Vergnügen verschaffen könnte. Freilich könnte ich mein Buch bald voll kriegen, wenn ich alles Kleinliche bemerken wollte, so zum Beispiel, dass ich des Morgens schon um 7 mir meinen schlechten Kaffee ohne Zucker, um 9 Uhr Wasser, 12 Uhr Mittagessen und um 7 Uhr schlechten Tee holen muss. Die übrige Zeit fülle ich mit Lesen aus, des Nachmittags halte ich Siesta, trotz dem Grossinquisitor in der kleinen Zigeunerin von Kotzebue. Oft sprechen wir von Lamstedt, von Martinchen, Katzerl und usw. und so vergeht ein Tag wie der andere. An Erfahrung wird man hier freilich reicher. Denn hier lernt man verschiedene Arten von Menschen kennen, besonders meine polnischen Glaubensgenossen, die sich so ordinär betragen, dass man sich schämen muss, mit ihnen Worte zu wechseln.

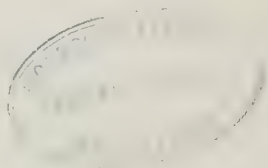
Ich will es jedem Deutschen raten, wenn er schon nach Amerika will, neht mit solchem Pöbel zu reisen. Es ist leicht gesagt, drei bis sechs Wochen sind bald vorüber. Ja, auf dem Lande, da verfließt das kostbarste der Geschenke, die Zeit nur zu bald; aber hier, da wird sie zur Ewigkeit. Der Wind ist immer nicht gut, die Luft unfreundlich und ich nicht vergnügt. Ich habe kein Heimweh, denn ich habe die bittere Pille, die Fremde, schon zu viel kosten müssen, als dass ich sie nun nicht verschlucken könnte. Aber ich habe Herz und dies zieht mich unwiderstehlich hin nach meiner Heimat und ich muss daher immer mich nach meinen Bekannten und Freunden in Deutschland sehen.

8 Uhr abends. Schon seit mehreren Tagen war ich nicht so vergnügt als eben jetzt. Wir sind alle hier versammelt und der Kapitän erzählt, erklärt und verspricht, trotz dem ungünstigen Wind, ein baldiges Ankommen, nur befürchtet er zu dicke Luft und fürchtet, die Eisberge nicht früh genug wahrnehmen zu können, und dies wäre höchst gefährlich. Viele, sehr viele Schiffe, viele Menschen sind in dieser Gegend in der Nähe Neu-Foundlands umgekommen, sind fern von ihren Anverwandten, fern von Trost in Elend ums Leben gekommen. Keine Freunde, keine Brüder, Mütter haben sich in der Nähe der Unglücklichen befunden. Hier war es, wo vergangenes Jahr, Slomans Schiff *Stephanie* mit so vielen Hamburger Israeliten scheiterte. Hier ist es, wo man nur in Gott seinen Trost suchen muss und auch kann und sich zurufen muss: Wenn auch Vater und Mutter mich verlassen, so habe ich doch noch einen Vater, der mir immer bleibt. Und so sollst auch du, o Gott, du Tröster alles Leidenden, heute wie immer mein Trost und Zuversicht sein. Und hier, wo uns der Tod angrinst, bin ich lustig und vergnügt und werde ruhig schlafen.

Donnerstag, den 17. Juni.

Wunderschönes Wetter, günstiger Wind, nur leider sehr schwach. Wir sahen heute früh schon eine Masse von Fischen, genannt Springers, denn sie springen hoch auf und tauchen bald unter. Sie machen ihre Reise in Gesellschaft von dreissig und noch mehr und der Kapitän meint, dass sie gut schmecken und man sogar Beefsteak davon machen kann, indem dieser Fisch mehrere Arten Fleisch hat. Auch befindet sich ein Schiff in unserer Nähe.

Wenn ich so die Wasserfläche bei ruhigem Wetter betrachte und längs dem Horizont blicke, so deutet es mir immer, als wäre drüben



Land und meine Phantasie malt sich dann eine schöne Landgegend hin, und die Wolken bilden sich zu Felsen. Bald erblicke ich den Ofener Blocksberg und bald den Westerberg zu Lamstedt. Die andere Seite denke ich mir die Wilimiwer Gegend, die Allee bei Jenikau mit dem hungrigen Florian und im Hintergrunde erblicke ich die Gegend um Strakonitz, das Weilsche Haus, die Insel, darauf die neue Fabrike. Doch plötzlich höre ich vom Steuerruder rufen: Südwest! und zerstoßen ist mein Gemälde, die Berge, Triften, Weiler und Häuser sind mit einem Mal in Nichts verschwunden. Da ist keine bekannte Gegend, kein Punkt, der mich fesseln könnte, die ewige Leere, das weite Weltmeer liegt wie ein Spiegel da, und ich bin nur froh, festen Fuss halten zu können, und dabei mich zu trösten, bald die Küsten Amerikas erblicken zu können.

3 Uhr nachmittags. Endlich habe ich doch einen Haifisch und einen fliegenden Fisch zu sehen gekriegt und zwar dicht an unserem Schiffe. Der Kapitän wollte ihn fangen, aber die an Bord befindlichen Kinder fingen an, vor Freude zu lärmern. Da tauchte Herr Hai unter, und obwohl wir ein da capo riefen, so war er doch unerbittlich und klug genug, nicht zu erscheinen.

Es ist jetzt fast windstill und sehr schönes Wetter und doch wünschten alle stürmisch, um nur vorwärts zu kommen.

Die eine von meinen Freundinnen ist fast immer krank und verbittert mir manche Stunde. Ein Glück, dass sie ihre Brüder mithat, die sie sehr pflegen. Doch fehlt ihr ein Arzt. Ich wollte, dass Bruder Bernhard sich hier befinden möchte. Das wäre überhaupt ein neues Feld für seine ärztliche Praxis, Seekranke behandeln zu können. Der Kapitän scheint kein guter Arzt zu sein und Gott behüte, hier krank zu werden. Ich bin im ganzen gesund, nur leider sehr hungrig.

Freitag, den 18. Juni.

Wenn ich nun in Lamstedt wäre, so würde M. Cohn erstaunen, wie sehr ich zum Blumenfreund geworden. Denn wenn ich nun eine so liebenswürdige Lehrerin hätte, ich würde viel drum geben. Wenn mir gesagt, erklärt wurde, was eine Hyazinthe sei, so war mein Gedächtnis so schwach, dass ich diese edle Pflanze eine Stunde später für eine Gänseblume hielt. Und nun, wenn ich in L. wäre, ich würde gewiss ein Linnée werden. Wie gleichgültig betrachtete ich den niedlichen Garten, kaum beachtete ich die Blumen, Rosen, Nelken und unsere Laube war mir nichts. Nur zu den Stachel-, Johannis- und Erdbeeren fühlte sich mein Geist oder vielmehr mein Gaumen hingezogen. Ja, wenn ich nun in L. wäre, ich möchte Natur scheffel-, spintweise

verschlucken, ich möchte mich an dem Grasanblick weiden. Hier kann ich kaum Natur trinken. Hier brauche ich mir nicht zuzurufen:

“Süsse heilige Natur
Lass mich gehen auf deine Spur,
Dich nur weise, weise nur,
Denn allzu viel wird Unnatur.”

Ja, wenn ich hier eine Laube hätte und in dieser Laube Kaffee, Mauschellen oder auch nur Zuckerkrenzel mit Rahm, o was wär das für e Tam?!

Zarte Sehnsucht, süsses Hoffen
Des Kaffees goldne Zeit⁹
Ich kann nicht werden durch Rahm besoffen,
Es sehnt sich mein Magen nach einer besseren Zeit.

Es ist hier notwendig, nicht zu denken, denn man macht nur traurigen Gefühlen Raum. Ich bin nun schon 700 Meilen vom Hause entfernt und doch deuchte es mir, als wären es nur zehn, und das Wetter ist so schön, so herrlich windstill, dass es entsetzlich angenehm ist, und dabei ist es mir immer, als könnte ich mir Bernhard und Sophie rufen; die See so glatt, als ob Louis sein Fortepiano hier aufpflanzen könnte und eine Variation über “Nepujdu domu”¹⁰ vortragen könnte; die Sonne so heiss, dass ich wähne, mich ins Grüne zu lagern. Ach es gibt hier so viel Grünes und so viel Unkraut und doch kann man kein grünes schattiges Graslager sich verschaffen. Mai, Juni Monat ist schön, per Dampf nach Amerika zu reisen, aber mit Segelschiff schrecklich langweilig, denn man hat zu viel Windstille. Darum habe ich mir auch fest vorgenommen, bei meiner Retourreise über Liverpool per Dampf zu reisen und zugleich einen Neger und nebstbei viel Geld mitzubringen. Denn, glaubt mir, liebe Leser, mit Geld lässt es sich angenehmer reisen als ohne Geld. Diese geldlose Erfahrung habe ich heute den 18. gemacht.

5 Uhr. Ich gehe nun dem fünften Schabes entgegen, sage dem fünften, den ich fern von Freunden, ich meine von Anverwandten, hier auf unserer schwimmenden Insel zubringe, und wer weiss, wie lange ich noch hier werde weilen müssen. Es ist leicht gesagt, nach Amerika zu reisen, wenn man das Unangenehme nicht kennt. Für den, der die Reise aber noch einmal im Zwischendeck unternehmen

⁹ Parody of Schiller's poem “Die Glocke.”

¹⁰ Bohemian national song.

würde, könnte ich meine Bewunderung nicht versagen, oder ich könnte ihn auch für verrückt erklären. Schliesslich will ich noch versuchen, das Zwischendeck zu schildern. Nun will ich dem lieben Schabes entgegengehen.¹¹

Sonntag, den 20. Juni.

Heute habe ich einen angenehmen Tag zurückgelegt, denn wir haben guten Wind und einen vorzüglichen Pudding gehabt. Meine Freundinnen haben den Pudding zubereitet, der wirklich künstlich war, denn auf dem Schiffe hat man nicht so viele Ingredienzien als auf dem Lande. Liebe Freunde, ihr dürft mich nicht verdammen, wenn ich so viel Bewunderung der Kochkunst schenke und überhaupt so viel vom Essen spreche. Aber wenn Ihr einmal eine Seereise machen werdet, so werdet ihr die Glückseligkeit begreifen, guten Pudding zu haben. Einen anderen Genuss hatten wir Nachmittag. Es segelte ganz dicht an uns ein Bremer Dreimaster mit Passagieren nach New York mit 93 Personen und auch jetzt ist er noch in unserer Nähe. Es ist ein grosses Vergnügen, so viele Menschen um sich zu sehen, sie waren alle lustig. Wir sind jetzt eben so südlich wie Palermo und nun haben wir 8 Uhr und in Hamburg sagt der Kapitän, ist jetzt schon 11 Uhr. Es war heute eine fürchterliche Hitze. Das Wasser ist nun ruhig, der Himmel heiter und die Sonne verschwindet in einer Pracht, die ein Landbewohner nicht ahnen kann. Auf Verdeck spielt Herr Müller und sein Schwager Musik, der Steuermann und mehrere Herren und Damen tanzen. Alles ist vergnügt. Auch ich bin lustig und munter, nur kann ich kaum erwarten, Amerika zu sehen. Doch Geduld überwindet alles, und so will ich noch 10 bis 14 Tage Geduld haben.

Dienstag, den 22. Juni, abends 8 Uhr.

Es ist unglaublich, welch angenehme Tage wir diese Woche gehabt haben, denn der Wind war sehr gut und daher wir alle vergnügt. Am Tag beschäftigt sich alles, der eine mit Lesen, der andere mit Schreiben oder sonst was, und des Abends wird musiziert und getanzt. Dabei ist das schönste Wetter. Überhaupt sind die Abende herrlich, der Horizont mit Wolken von verschiedenen Gestalten bedeckt, die einen eigentümlichen reizenden Anblick gewähren. Überhaupt ist die Luft schon amerikanisch. Ich bin fast jeden Abend entzückt und gönne es mir kaum selbst. Der Bremer segelt schon seit zwei Tagen ganz dicht an uns und es ist sehr erfreulich. Die Passagiere beider Schiffe tanzen und singen jetzt, und die Kapitäne sprechen

¹¹ Allusion to the well known Sabbath song "Lekah dodi."

miteinander. In solchen Augenblicken vergisst man, wo man sich befindet, und ist vergnügt.

Es ist mir leid, dass ich meine Spalten nicht mit Merkwürdigkeiten, die eigentlich während einer Seereise vorkommen müssten, ausfüllen kann, und wir müssen nur froh sein, wenn es Gegenstände gibt, die uns die Langeweile verscheuchen helfen. Zugleich können wir uns ja mit den Leuten des Bremer Schiffes trösten, denn sie empfinden gewiss die Unannehmlichkeiten einer solchen Reise ebenso wie wir. Es ist merkwürdig, was die Gewohnheit macht. Ich fühle mich nun so heimlich und sicher auf unserem schwimmenden Eilande als auf dem festen Boden, und wenn die Wellen an meiner Lagerstätte brausen und toben, so sind es nicht mehr jene schrecklichen Töne, die der dreizackige Gott an einen Jünger Apollos ergehen lässt, nein es sind mir nur fremde Melodien, die mich nur sanfter und schneller in Schlaf einullen; und wenn ein Wellenschlag unsanfter Art mich dann aus meinen Träumen weckt und ich noch schlaftrunken um mich blicke, und nicht weiss, wo ich mich befinde, dann, ja dann erinnere ich mich freilich an mein niedliches Zimmer zu L. und blicke meine Kojen mit verdriesslichen Blicken an. Doch fasse ich mich bald wieder und rufe mir zu: Amerika ersetzt alles wieder; und wenn es anfangs auch Mühe kosten wird, so wirds umso lohnender sein, und erlangt doch der Mensch nichts ohne Müh! Ist mein guter Bruder Bernhard ohne Mühe Doktor geworden? Wie manche schlaflose Nacht, wie manchen hungrigen Tag hat er nicht erdulden müssen, um—sich der Menschheit aufopfern zu können?! Mein geehrter Schwager in Strakonitz hat wahrlich viel versuchen müssen, viel opfern müssen, um sich den Titel Rabbiner zu erwerben. Gewiss, wenn ihr, meine Lieben, meine Gedanken hier lesen werdet, so werdet ihr über meine Einfalt lachen und werdet sagen, wir sind noch nicht zufrieden, der eine nicht als Doktor und der eine nicht als Rabbiner, und endlich werdet ihr lachen, dass ich meine kleine Reise, mein nichtiges Unternehmen mit dem lohnenden und geehrten Stande eines Doktors und Rabbi zu vergleichen wage. Für mich ist die Ausführung eines solchen Entschlusses schon genug und gross, eben weil ich nie so hoch und nie das Grosse eines Bernhard und Fürths erreichen konnte.

Montag den 28. Juni 1847.

Schon wieder sind 8 Tage vorbei, wo es mich nicht gelüstete, mein Tagebuch auszufüllen. Denn die Tage waren zu unangenehm, meistens nebelig, und ein konträrer Wind trieb uns ganz nach Norden längs Neu-Foundland, wo es so kalt war, wie bei uns im Januar, und so

nebelig, dass man kaum zwanzig Schritte sehen konnte. Wir sahen übrigens viele Fische, denn hier ist der Stockfischfang zu Hause, auch sahen wir zwei Walfische. Heute haben wir wieder guten Wind, aber leider schwach, und obwohl nur noch 200 Meilen von New York, so steht uns doch noch eine lange Reise bevor.

Wenn ich in meinem Tagebuch den Belumer Markt erwähnt habe, so wäre es undankbar von mir, nicht auch den Ostinger Markt zu erwähnen, der heute ein Jahr war, zu fröhlich, und ich unterhielt mich bei den Ostingern zu gut, als dass ich mich ihrer nicht dankbar erinnern sollte. Seit einem Jahre hat sich so manches verändert. Wie vergnügt bin ich nicht nach Osten in Gesellschaft des seligen Hoffmann gefahren. Wie unterhaltend und witzig hat sich nicht mein Landsmann Herr Hoffmann gezeigt. Und nun? Beide haben wir freilich eine Reise angetreten. Doch wo ich nun hinreise, war er nicht, und wo er hingereist, werde ich, obwohl mich gewiss meine Reisewut dahin nicht bringen wird, dennoch reisen. Der Zeitraum eines Jahres hat bewirkt, dass ein zärtlicher Gatte, liebender Vater dem zarten Kreis seiner Familie entrückt wurde und nun in einem Lande weilt, wo auch ich einst weilen werde; und mich trieb wieder das Geschick nach Amerika. O gebe der Allmächtige, dass es mir in der neuen Welt ebenso glücken möge, wie es dem Verewigten im Hannöverschen geglückt hat!—Während ihr lieben Ostinger tanzt und froh seid, schwimmen wir mit Cohn aus Neuenwalde nach Amerika, und wünschten nur ein Stündchen in eurer Mitte zubringen zu können.

Donnerstag den 1. Juli 1847.

Es werden nun bald sieben Wochen und wir befinden uns noch immer auf unserem Schnellsegler. Wenn ich nur einen Fusspfad erblicken täte, so, so—würde ich die Reise mit höchsteigener Gelegenheit fortsetzen. Wir hatten zwei Tage so einen schrecklichen Nebel, dass man die Sonne nicht sehen konnte und der Kapitän nicht wusste, wo wir uns befinden; und er steuerte aufs Geradewohl, als er endlich merkte, dass wir nicht weit vom Lande sein müssten. Und so war es auch. Denn wir befanden uns in der Nähe einer Insel Seleben Island, die nur acht Quadratmeter im Umfang hat und unbewohnt ist. Man kann nie klug werden aus den Reden der Seeleute. Bald sagen sie, wir haben nur noch 150, bald 120 und bald wieder 200 Meilen. Überhaupt scheinen sie einen Aberglauben zu haben, wenn sie die Wahrheit sagen sollten. Gott gebe nur, dass wir bald anlangen mögen, denn wir haben nur noch wenig gutes Trinkwasser, das andere stinkt schon, keinen Reis und Kartoffeln mehr.

Revolutionieren würde hier nichts fruchten, darum bitte ich heute guten Wind. Am besten kann ich das Schiffsbrot vertragen, denn es schmeckt wie Mazzos, für viele ist es aber eine Pein, so lange Pessach halten zu müssen und sie fühlen grosse Sehnsucht nach Roggenbrot. Ich sehne mich nach einem Glas frisch Wasser und Fleisch am meisten. Jetzt eilt alles im lieben Jenikau zu Mincha, um *Wajchal* zu hören.¹² Ich bezweifle, dass die, welche gefastet, so abgemattet und ausgehungert sich ausnehmen wie wir hier auf unserem Schiffe, trotzdem hier niemand gefastet. Denn obwohl die Seeluft an und für sich stärkend genug ist, so entbehrt man hier gar zu viel, um wohl aussehen zu können. Der Kapitän tröstet, dass wir nun nicht mehr weit von der Küste entfernt sind. Gott gebe, dass dem so sei. Meine Sehnsucht nach Land und meine Freude bei dem Gedanken, bald das grosse New York begrüssen zu können, kann sich nur der denken, der je eine Seereise gemacht hat, dem es zu langweilig, sechs, sieben Wochen nichts als Wasser vor Augen zu haben. Wenn sich auch dann und wann ein Schiff mit Mastbäumen zeigt, so sind es doch keine Kirschbäume, und wir sind diese Begebnisse nun schon gewöhnt, daher die Sehnsucht.

Sonntag den 4. Juli 1847.

Die vorhergehenden Tage haben uns an 70 Meilen näher gebracht, und wir befinden uns nicht mehr weit von der Küste. Das Lot ist geworfen und schon Grund überall zu finden. Unser *Schabos* war sehr unruhig und Freitag Nacht sehr stürmisch, heute die See ruhig, der Wind leider schlecht. Schon lassen sich zuweilen kleine Schiffe sehen, ein Beweis, dass in der Nähe Land ist. Heute herrscht in den Vereinigten Staaten nur Jubel, und wenn der Amerikaner von keinem Fest wissen will, dieses Fest lässt er gewiss nicht freudenleer vorübergehen. Am 4. Juli wird das Befreiungsfest, das grosse Fest, wo sie sich die Unabhängigkeit, das Höchste im Leben, die Freiheit errungen haben, gefeiert, und Jung und Alt soll an diesem Tag sich ganz dem sinnlichen Leben hingeben. Wir wähten zwar, Teil an dem Fest nehmen zu können, aber es sollte nicht so sein, und wir hoffen, nächstes Jahr als Bürger Amerikas das Fest mitfeiern zu können, und wollen uns heute beim (hoffentlich) letzten Pudding freuen und ein Glas—Wasser auf das Wohl Amerikas austossen.

Der Gedanke, nun bald Land erblicken zu können, versetzt die Menschen in eine Wallung von Freude, die an das Unmässige grenzt.

¹² July 1, 1847 coincided with the 17th of Tammuz fast-day, when a portion of the Law beginning with the words *Vayhal*, Exodus 32, 11 ff., is read in the afternoon, in the synagogue.

Denn bald tanzen sie, bald zanken sie sich; denn der eine behauptet, in zwei, der andere in drei Tagen schon landen zu können. Ich aber freue mich nur, dass ich gesund bin, und meine, auf eins bis zwei Tage mehr kommt es nicht an. Denn bestimmen kann es selbst der Kapitän nicht, da es nur vom Wind abhängt. Aber diese Woche habe ich alle Hoffnung, doch endlich anlangen zu können, indem wir nicht mehr weit haben. Ganze Scharen von Seeschwalben und Seeenten, Fische umgeben heute unser Schiff, als wollten sie unsere Wegweiser sein. Der Kapitän versuchte, Fische zu harpunen, aber es will nicht gelingen.

Wie freudenleer wäre mein Aufenthalt auf dem Schiffe gewesen, und wie unglücklich hätte ich mich gefühlt, so ganz allein unter fremden und auch ungebildeten Menschen sechs bis sieben Wochen zubringen zu müssen, hätte ich da meine Reise nicht bereut? So aber an der Hand von Freunden und in Gesellschaft von Freundinnen sogar wird die Reise einem nicht allein erträglich, sondern es gibt Augenblicke, wo man sich glücklich, heimisch fühlt. Ja, ein Freund, der kostbarste Edelstein der gütigen Natur. Wenn auch Wellen uns umbrausen, Wogen wie zu hohen Felsen werden, und des Meeres Ungeheuer uns angrinsen, kurz wenn der Ozean wie eine Hölle sich ausnimmt, so zittert man doch nicht, wenn man einen Freund zur Seite hat, und das Leben gewährt auch auf dem Schiffe einen anderen Reiz. Ich freue mich daher und danke dem Schöpfer alles Guten für das Glück, solche Freunde, teilnehmende und an allem Anteil nehmen lassende Freunde zu haben. Doch auch ich bin meinen Freunden oder vielmehr meiner Freundin Hannchen nicht undankbar und habe mich freiwillig aus purer Dankbarkeit entschlossen, heute die—Schüssel zu waschen und alles Essgeschirr in Ordnung zu bringen. Fräulein Julie hätte gewiss mir das Zeugnis gegeben, dass es Gescher Buts nicht reiner und zierlicher und auch künstlich gemacht hatte.

Abends 7 Uhr. Der Wind ist stark, aber leider konträr und wir kreuzen. Die Meisten sind über das Kreuzen verdriesslich und bedenken nicht, dass wir in Amerika auch werden kreuzen und so manchen Weg werden einschlagen müssen, um nur unser Fortkommen zu finden. Ja im Leben kommt alles in Kreuz und Quer, und wir müssen die Segel auch nach dem Winde drehen, sonst geraten wir an Klippen, wo wir mit all unserem Verstand uns nicht herausfinden können. Ja in Amerika finden wir keinen Steuermann, der uns den rechten Weg zeigen wird, da muss jeder in seinem Verstand den Steuermann suchen, doch dürfen wir nicht immer dem Kompass

Herz folgen. Die Taten allein, wenn sie recht sind, bringen uns hoffentlich in Amerika auch ans Ziel.

Der Kapitän ruft: "Land!" Ich kann aber noch nichts sehen und glaube es auch noch nicht, denn wir werden alle Augenblicke genarrt.

Montag, den 5. Juli, 1847.

Als ich noch sanft schlief und träumte von Dingen, die mir jetzt schon entfallen sind, wurde ich von Mademoiselle Hannchen geweckt und aufgefordert, auf Deck zu kommen, um den Lotsen willkommen zu heissen, ich wollte es aber nicht glauben. Aber als ich sah, dass auch ihr Bruder sich aufmachte, um den längst erwarteten Lotsen zu sehen, folgte ich und überzeugte mich, dass ich—genarrt wurde, und noch dazu vernahm ich, dass wir konträren Wind haben. Aber so ganz leer ging ich doch nicht nach meiner Kojе zurück. Denn ich sah das Grossartigste, ich sah die Sonne aufgehen, gleichsam aus dem Meere steigen, umgeben von einem Farbenspiel, das ein Landbewohner nicht ahnen kann, der Horizont so azurblau und die Sonne einen roten rosaartigen Kreis um sich, dass ich vor Staunen und Bewunderung vergass, meine Morgennymphe zur Rede zu stellen. Denn ich war froh, diesen göttlichen Anblick geniessen zu können. Wir können unmöglich weit von der Küste sein, wir segeln nach Long Island zu und von da ists nur eine Kleinigkeit nach New York.

3 Uhr: Der längst erwartete und mit Sehnsucht herbeigewünschte Anblick bietet sich uns endlich dar, denn wir sehen Land! Land von Amerika! Ihr, die ihr nie eine Seereise unternommen habet, könnet euch von den beseeligen den Gefühlen keinen Begriff machen, die sich in der Brust eines nach Land schmachtenden Menschen regen, wenn er Berge und Täler erblickt. Denn nach siebenwöchentlicher Reise sehnt man sich wahrlich nach der blühenden und kirschenreichen Natur und nach Beschäftigung. Ich sehe eben Block Island und auf der entgegengesetzten Seite Low Island. Wir müssen nun nach Staten Island und dann sind wir vor New York. Long Island gehört zum Staate New York und ist 25 Meilen lang. Alle sind heute froh, Gott gebe nur günstigen Wind. Denn sonst können wir noch einige Tage hier herumsegeln. Jetzt kreuzen wir und kommen dadurch von der Insel zurück, aber wenn das Schiff gewendet wird, kommen wir Long Island näher.

Dienstag, den 6. Juli.

Wo in aller Welt ist Block und Long Island? Da ist keine Spur von Land, die Leuchttürme, die schattigen Hügel, das erwünschte Land ist verschwunden, wir befinden uns wieder in der offenen See. Doch ists kein Sturm, der uns zurückgetrieben, sondern der Kapitän

sieht ein, um nach New York zu gelangen, müssen wir so segeln. Jetzt ist der Wind gut und wir haben Hoffnung, bald festen Fuss fassen zu können. Meine Freunde wollen mich mitnehmen nach ihren Anverwandten und wollen sehen, dass ich da einige Tage logieren kann, welches für mich ein grosses Glück ist, indem ich mit ihrer Schwester gut bekannt bin. Ach, wie viele befinden sich an Bord, die gar keine Freunde in der Stadt haben und auch kein Geld, und was noch schlimmer, gar keine Kleidungsstücke. Wie dank ich dir, o Gott, dass ich so freundliche Menschen um mich habe und Kleidung, um mich anständig sehen lassen zu können. Der Mensch bedarf, um zufrieden sein zu können, nur unter sich zu blicken. Ist er aber so töricht und blickt über sich, so wird er unzufrieden, unglücklich, zerfällt mit sich selbst und ist nahe daran, zu verzweifeln. Ich kann überhaupt sehr leicht zufriedengestellt werden. Ein anständiges Auskommen und so viel, dass ich mir nur etwas ersparen könnte, ist es, um was ich den Spender alles Guten bitte. Gewährt er mir diese Bitte, so, so glaube ich am Ende doch—nicht zufrieden zu sein. Denn, um uns Menschen zufrieden zu stellen, bedarf es in der That mehr als eine Schiffsapotheke. Denn die meisten sind nicht genügsam und wünschen oft mehr als zum gewöhnlichen Leben nötig ist.

Mittwoch, den 7. Juli.

Unsere Reise will immer noch kein Ende nehmen, denn wir haben immer Windstille. Es ist wahrlich eine Ixions-Qual, sich in der Nähe seines Zieles zu befinden und es nicht erreichen zu können. Unser Proviant ist auch so knapp, wir haben heute die letzte Butter bekommen. Ein Glück, dass wir nun bald anlangen. Es ist überhaupt ein Ärger: so viel Wasser, und es nicht geniessen zu können; so viel Fische, und keine fangen zu können. Heute sahen wir gar keine Schiffe und auch kein Land. Wir sind alle missgestimmt, denn es ist nichts fataler als Windstille. Dabei ist eine schreckliche Hitze, denn wir sind nur neun Meilen von New York und können es nicht erreichen. Ist das nicht Höllenqual? Die Polen sagen *Tehillim*, der Kapitän flucht, ich trinke vor Verzweiflung Wasser. Aber das will alles nichts helfen. Gott lenke es zum Guten. Der Abend ist schrecklich schwül und man lernt hier schon amerikanische Hitze kennen.

Donnerstag, den 8. Juli.

Als mich Bruder Bernard vor 9 Jahren in den Prater mitnahm und ich den Kaiser zum ersten Mal erblickte, freute ich mich nicht so als heute, wo ich den so längst erwarteten Lotsen an Bord kommen sah und den ersten Amerikaner sprechen hörte. Ungefähr um 9 Uhr

war die Luft so dick, dass der Kapitän nichts sah und, um einen Lotsen an Bord zu bekommen, sah er sich genötigt, einen Kanonenschuss ertönen zu lassen, um anzudeuten, dass er einen Lotsen verlangt. Als bald kam ein Boot und brachte uns den gewünschten Gast. Ich wunderte mich, einen so feinen Mann zu finden, denn die deutschen Lotsen sind es nicht. Auch brachte er Zeitungen mit, die ich Gott sei Dank lesen konnte, obwohl sie englisch waren.

2 Uhr: Euch, meine Teuren, meine Empfindungen zu schildern, vermag ich wirklich nicht. Denn eine Seereise glücklich zurückgelegt zu haben, ist schon ein freudiges Gefühl. Denkt euch die See spiegelklar, auf einer Seite eine bergige Gegend, die ich nur mit Blankenese, wenn sie auch schöner ist, vergleichen kann, es ist Highland. Daneben eine flache baumreiche Gegend mit Häusern und mit vier Leuchttürmen geziert, weiter hinauf die See immer schmaler werdend. Auf der entgegengesetzten Seite entfaltet sich Staten Island und Sandy Hook. Überall Schiffe und jeden Augenblick kommen Jollen und bieten Geschäfte an. Dabei die fröhlichen Gesichter einer halb ausgehungerten Mannschaft, die jede Kleinigkeit für merkwürdig hält und vor Freude sich nicht mässigen kann. Denkt euch, meine Teuren, dieses und versetzt euch in Gedanken an Bord des Schiffes Colibri und ich bin gewiss, ihr werdet nicht allein unsere Freude begreifen, nein auch teilen. Den heutigen Tag erkläre ich in der Tat für den glücklichsten, den ich je gehabt. Gebe nur Gott, dass ich es in New York auch gut finde.

4 Uhr: Unser Lotse weiss den Wind so aufzunehmen, dass wir mit unglaublicher Schnelle uns dem gewünschten Ziele nähern, und jetzt das Schönste, was ich je gesehen, vor meinen Augen ausgebreitet sehe. Die vorige Landschaft ist verschwunden, statt dessen bietet sich nun Staten Island in seiner Glorie dar und auf der anderen Seite liegt New Island und zwischen beiden ist die Wasserfläche nur schmal. Daher wird der Eingang das Loch genannt. Bald aber wird die Wasserfläche grösser und grösser und überall sieht der Einwanderer Neues, worüber er sich nicht genug wundern kann. Alles was ich bisher gesehen, hat für mich keinen Wert, denn so schön habe ich es nicht einmal in der Sächsischen Schweiz gefunden. Pest, Ofen, die Brühl, Blankenese, was seid ihr gegen diese himmlische Gegend. Besonders die Baumarten scheinen mir ganz anders.

6 Uhr. Schon von New York vor der Quarantäne, wo wir bis morgen warten müssen. Der Doktor war schon hier und hat alles visitiert, er kommt nochmal wieder. Sehr erfreulich war mir, zu sehen, wie legere der Amerikaner sich benimmt. Ein österreichischer Aufseher kommt an im Namen des Kaisers mit rot-blauer Uniform und

tut sich wichtig, wie wenn er der Kaiser selbst wäre. Der Amerikaner kommt, grüsst kaum, schmaucht dabei seine Zigarre, fragt, woher, wohin, was sich an Bord befinde, und ist verschwunden. Auch waren schon Agenten an Bord, Leute mit Brot, und ich hatte das Vergnügen, zum ersten Mal amerikanisches Brot zu essen und muss aufrichtig gestehen, es hat mir nicht gemundet, denn es ist zu weiss für gewöhnliches Hausbrot und hat wenig Geschmack.

8 Uhr. Soll, kann ich es euch denn so beschreiben, wie mir zumute ist, wenn ich denke an das stille Jenikau, an meine Freunde in Lamstedt, an Herz in Hamburg, und dabei mich von einer Gegend umgeben sehe, die so schön ist, dass ich mir nur ein Paradies so denken könnte. Eingeschlossen von einer Landschaft, die kein Maler so wiedergeben kann, vor meinen Blicken liegt oder vielmehr schimmert das grossartige New York. Alle Augenblicke passieren Dampfboote, von deren Grösse und Schönheit ich vor Verwunderung nicht zu mir selbst kommen kann. Kurz es ist hier ein Leben, wie ich es nicht geahnt. Vergessen sind alle Leiden, alle Unannehmlichkeiten. Ich habe Amerika gesehen, mein Wunsch ist erfüllt und jetzt fühle.¹³

[No date.]¹⁴

Wenn ich mir notiert habe meine Seereise, Unannehmlichkeiten, um mich, wenn es mir einst im Heimatlande im Zirkel meiner Angehörigen zuweilen gestattet sein wird, erinnern zu können, wie es mir in Amerika ergangen, und wenn meine Seereise von Stürmen ziemlich befreit war, so kann ich hier in meinen folgenden Notizen von so manchen Landstürmen erzählen. In der Tat, meine Seereise war nichts Abenteuerliches gegen meine Stellungen, die ich hier schon eingenommen habe, und oft muss ich selbst über mich lachen und mich wundern, wie ich das alles mitmache. Ach, wie sanguinisch waren meine Hoffnungen, als ich am 19. Mai 1847 der nicht freien Stadt Hamburg den Rücken kehrte, um nach dem freien Amerika zu gehen. Ach, wie viel habe ich nicht aufgeopfert, mich losgesagt von allem, was mir lieb und teuer war, mich getrennt von einer Mutter, um sie, o schrecklich! vielleicht nie wiederzusehen, losgerissen von Bruder, Schwester, losgesagt vom Cohn'schen Hause und das alles, um—in Amerika zu leiden und peddlen zu gehen. Ach wenn ich so in die Zukunft hätte blicken können, wie anders würde es nun mit mir stehen, wie zufrieden wäre ich in Lamstedt gewesen, wie sparsam, eingezogen . . . Doch vorbei—geschehene

¹³ With these words the text of the diary breaks off.

¹⁴ The following text was apparently added to the diary later, probably after fifty years.

Dinge—lassen sich nicht ungeschehen machen. Ich bin hier einmal lebendig begraben, muss peddlen und do you want to buy fragen, und schwitzen und mein basket tragen!

Als ich den 9. Juli 1847 in New York landete, war mein Magen und meine Tasche schrecklich leer, aber meine Meinung, hier bald viel Geld zu erwerben, desto grösser. Vielen geht es hier sehr schlecht in der ersten Zeit, mir ging es gut. Ich fand sehr bald ein Unterkommen in der Nähe New Yorks und verdiente als window shades painter schönes Geld. Ich freute mich immer, keine Jenikauer um mich zu haben, als der Teufel Staine mir zuschickte, der mich durch falsche Vorspiegelung aus meiner Karriere . . .¹⁵

¹⁵ With these words the text ends.

Note. The July 5-8 part of this diary, on p. 109-112, has appeared in Schocken Verlag, *Almanach auf das Jahr 5699*, Berlin, 1938/39, p. 115-120. This happened without the knowledge or previous consent of Prof. Kisch.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY¹ OF THE WRITINGS OF ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

BY EDWARD D. COLEMAN, A. B.

WITH A PREFACE, BY PROF. ALEXANDER MARX.

The selected Bibliography of the papers of Albert Marx Friedenbergr by the Librarian of the American Jewish Historical Society, Mr. E. D. Coleman, is the tribute of a friend to one of the most active, devoted and useful members of the Society. It is the only tribute which Mr. Friedenbergr will permit the Society to pay him. In his extreme modesty he never claimed any credit or recognition for the unselfish work he has been doing for the last three decades for the Society.

Mr. Friedenbergr joined our Society as a student in 1900 and, from that time on, he has followed its work with the greatest zeal. Since 1908 he has been a member of the Executive Council. In 1910 he was elected Corresponding Secretary and he has served in that capacity ever since. Besides taking care of the manifold duties of this office, it is his task to make all arrangements for the annual meetings of the Society. He attends to every detail with the greatest devotion.

He served on many committees of the Society. Thus, as early as 1904 he was made a member of the Committee for Indexing American Jewish Periodicals, together with the late Max J. Kohler. In the Lyons Committee, to which we are indebted for our *Publications*, no. 21 and 27, he served in

¹ The following abbreviations have been employed: AH, *American Hebrew*; AJHS.P, *American Jewish Historical Society, Publications*; AJYB, *American Jewish Year Book*; JCh, *Jewish chronicle*, London; JCo, *Jewish comment*, Baltimore; JEn, *Jewish Encyclopedia*; JEx, *Jewish exponent*, Philadelphia; JQR, *Jewish quarterly review*; JTr, *Jewish tribune*, New York; Mac, *Maccabaeon*, New York; MMo, *Menorah monthly*, New York; and RA, *Reform advocate*, Chicago.

collaboration again with the late Mr. Kohler and with Mr. Leon Huhner. Together with them he devoted many hours and days to the arduous task.

In 1909 he became a member of the Publication Committee and in 1910 he was elected its Chairman. Fully a half of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* have thus appeared under his editorship. He has always taken his task very earnestly and read every paper handed in to the Society. If in his opinion an article fell short of our high standards he did not hesitate to refuse its acceptance. He has often resisted the pressure of his own friends and followed his conscience, though this action was occasionally resented, as is customary, by members of the Society. He would rather delay the publication of a new volume than include papers which did not contribute anything new to the subject of our studies. From the many years of my association with him in the Publication Committee of the Society, I know that he has been doing the lion's share of the work. The part he played in the publication of nineteen of our volumes (Nos. 18-34 and Index Volume to Nos. 1-20) which have appeared so far under his chief guidance cannot easily be overestimated.

From the following bibliography we learn the extent of his literary activity. It centers on a few subjects particularly close to his heart. In the field of American Jewish history the legal aspects especially attracted him as a lawyer. He frequently returned to such topics as the *Jews and the Sunday laws* or *Calendar of American Jewish Cases*. He also tried to sum up the work done in the field of early Jewish history in this country in a series of articles in the *American Hebrew*, 1917-1919, and he gave a short account of the Jews in New Jersey up to 1850 and of those in early New York. As a Mason, and sometime master of his Lodge, he repeatedly dealt with Jews in Masonry.

Descended from an old German family which had lived for several generations in this country, Mr. Friedenberg has a

perfect command of the German language and is easily at home in German literature. In his early writings he frequently discussed German Jewish writers, particularly the oldest of them, Süsskind of Trimberg. The Zionist movement strongly appealed to him in his student years and, while not actively participating in its work, he follows its development with keen interest, though not always with approval. He repeatedly wrote on the historical aspects of Zionism. To the *Jewish Encyclopedia* he contributed many articles. Most of the papers on the Jewish periodical press, a good deal on German local history, and a number of biographies therein are from his pen.

The great influence which Dr. Schechter had exerted on him as a young man has found expression in various articles on that great leader and on the Seminary. His literary output in the first decade of the century was very considerable. From 1902 to 1910 he served as the New York correspondent of the Baltimore *Jewish Comment* and from 1905 to 1931 for the *Reform Advocate* of Chicago. He was also a contributing editor of the *Hebrew Standard* of New York from 1907 to 1923. A great deal of his work in these periodicals is anonymous and is not listed in the present bibliography.

He had a *History of the Jews in Newport* ready for publication when there appeared a volume on that subject by another writer. Letters of Jewish settlers of the last century formed an interesting subject for papers read by him at the annual meetings of our Society. On account of their intimate character, however, he did not publish them. He reviewed important current publications such as the several volumes of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and, of course, the Publications of our Historical Society. In the recent years he has been contributing a number of reviews to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

Mr. Coleman's Bibliography, carefully prepared with his usual exactness, acquaints us with the fruitful literary work of an enthusiastic, sincere and well-informed worker who

deserves well of American Jewish history. His co-workers wish him well for many years to come.

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New era illustrated magazine. 1905. v. 7, p. 170-174. [157]

Fourteenth annual meeting of American Jewish Historical Society.

JCo. 1906. v. 22, March 30, p. 1-4.

[158]

At Baltimore, March 1906.

The twelfth volume of the Jewish Encyclopedia.

JCo. 1906. v. 23, April 20, p. 12.

[159]

At Tannersville [N. Y.].

JCo. 1906. v. 23, Aug. 24, p. 2-3.

[160]

Telesinus, p. 78.—Welt, Die, p. 501.

In: *JEn.* v. 12.

[161-162]

Newport meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Details of the proceedings.

AH. 1907. v. 81, p. 246-247.

[163]

The 15th annual meeting, July 1907.

Whether a Jew is a proper tenant?

AH. 1907. v. 81, p. 622; v. 82, p. 68.

[164]

The case of Watson vs. Abbott.

Fifteenth session of the American Jewish Historical Society
[at Newport, R. I., July 4, 1907].

JCo. 1907. v. 25, p. 216-217, 225.

[165]

The mediaeval Jew.

JCo. 1907. v. 26, p. 50.

[166]

Occasioned by Julius Guttman's *Die wirtschaftliche und soziale Bedeutung der Juden im Mittelalter*, in *Monatschrift*, 1907, Band 51, p. 257-290.

The Jews in German literature.

JEx. 1907. v. 44, Jan. 11, p. 1-2; Jan. 18, p. 8; Jan. 25, p. 8; Feb. 1, p. 8. [167]

Reprinted as a separate, cover-title, 12 p., 4°.

"Revision and amplification of *Two mediaeval Jewish poets and The Jews as German men of letters.*"

The Sunday laws of the United States and leading judicial decisions having special reference to the Jews. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1908. 42 p. 12°. [168]

Repr.: *AJYB.* 1908. 5669, p. 152-189.

An interview for the *Jewish Chronicle* with Dr. Joseph Jacobs. *JCh.* 1908. March 27, p. 18. [169]

Meeting of American Jewish Historical Society.

JCo. 1908. v. 27, p. 97-98. [170]

16th annual meeting, New York City.

1909-1912

The Sunday laws of the United States.

AH. 1909. v. 84, p. 232-233. [171]

Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.

AH. 1909. v. 85, p. 169. [172]

A review of Nos. 17 and 18.

Immigration courts; a suggestion.

AH. 1909. v. 85, p. 294. [173]

Jewish interest in the poetry of [Oliver Wendell] Holmes.

AH. 1909. v. 85, p. 381. [174]

A modern pagan's views.

AH. 1909. v. 85, p. 648. [175]

As to Frederick York Powell, Regius professor of history at Oxford.

The Jews of New Jersey from the earliest times to 1850.

AJHS.P. 1909. No. 17, p. 33-43. [176]

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

American Jews and the German revolutionary movements of 1848-1849.

AJHS.P. 1909. No. 17, p. 204-205. [177]

- An interesting item concerning Major Mordecai M. Noah.
AJHS.P. 1909. No. 18, p. 211-212. [178]
 Reprinted in *AH.*, 1909, v. 85, p. 11.
- The year 5669 [1908-1909].
AJYB. 1909. 5670, p. 55-102. [179]
- Christianity and the common law.
JCo. 1909. v. 28, p. 273-274. [180]
- Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society.
JCo. 1909. v. 28, p. 337-338. [181]
 17th annual meeting, Philadelphia.
- A. J. H. S., new volume.
JCo. 1909. v. 28, p. 372. [182]
 A review of no. 17.
- The Jews in German literature.
JCo. 1909. v. 29, p. 281-283. [183]
- Theodore D. Judah.
JCo. 1909. v. 29, p. 361. [184]
 Cf. S. Wolf, *ibid.*, v. 30, p. 4.
- How Moses Katz found a job and kept his faith.
Sabbath journal. 1909. v. 3, no. 3, p. 7-8. [185]
 A story about Sabbath observance.
- German literature and the Jews.
AH. 1910. v. 87, p. 118. [186]
 A review of Ludwig Geiger, *Die deutsche Literatur und die Juden*, Berlin, 1910.
- A list of Jews who were grand masters of Masons in various states of this country.
AJHS.P. 1910. No. 19, p. 95-100. [187]
 Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.
 Reprinted in *RA.*, 1910, v. 39, p. 387-389.
- Theodore D. Judah.
AJHS.P. 1910. No. 19, p. 161. [188]
- Additions to "Calendars of American Jewish cases".
AJHS.P. 1910. No. 19, p. 167-172. [189]
- Meeting of American Jewish Historical Society.
JCo. 1910. v. 30, p. 289-290. [190]
 18th annual meeting, New York.

Freemasonry.

JCo. 1910. v. 31, p. 47. [191]

A review of *Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, 1727-1907*, by Norris S. Barratt and Julius F. Sachse, Phila., 1909.

Sunday labor in the state of New York.

JCo. 1910. v. 31, p. 210-211. [192]

The latter-day virtue of the maxim "Christianity is a part of common law" in American courts.

RA. 1910. v. 38, p. 924-926. [193]

The secret cause of Jewish importance in early American colonial commerce.

RA. 1910. v. 39, p. 655, 661. [194]

Moses Wassermann, the author of "Judah Touro".

AJHS.P. 1911. No. 20, p. 152-154. [195]

Jahresbericht am Ende des Maurerjahres 5912 . . . New York, 1912. 12°. p. 1-16. [196]

German translation on p. 17-30.

In his office as Master of King Solomon's Lodge No. 279, F. & A. M.

History of the Jews in the United States.

American citizen. New York, 1912. v. 1, p. 3-6, 71-73, 162-164, 213-215, 247-248. illus., ports., facsim. [197]

Sub-headings: What the Jews of this country stand for. The first Jewish settlers. The Jews in the Revolutionary War. The Jews in the first half of the nineteenth century. Early Jews in the South and the West.

The German and Austrian revolutions of 1848-1849.

AH. 1912. v. 90, p. 635. [198]

A note on some Anglo-Jewish law cases.

Jewish Historical Society of England. Transactions. 1912. v. 6, p. 247-248. [199]

1914-1921

Annual report of the master for the Masonic year 5913, King Solomon Lodge No. 279, F. & A. M. [New York: F. W. Forbush, Inc., 1914]. p. 3-15. 8°. [200]

In English.

Some Jewish judges in America.

AH. 1914. v. 94, p. 677-681. ports. [201]

The correspondence of Jews with President Martin Van Buren.

AJHS.P. 1914. No. 22, p. 71-100. [202]

Additional Jewish grand masters.

AJHS.P. 1914. No. 22, p. 182. [203]

Georg Caro [necrology].

AJHS.P. 1914. No. 22, p. 211-213. [204]

Benjamin Disraeli; reflections on the latest "life" [by Monypenny and Buckle].

AH. 1915. v. 96, p. 367-368. [205]

The Bible in public schools.

AH. 1915. v. 97, p. 333. [206]

Documents relating to the history of the Jews in Jamaica and Barbados in the time of William II.

AJHS.P. 1915. No. 23, p. 25-29. [207]

Jointly with Frank Cundall and N. Darnell Davis.

Report of the Foreign Archives Committee.

AJHS.P. 1915. no. 23, p. 91-103. [208]

Report of AMF as Chairman of a committee appointed by the Council of the AJHS, to examine the Jewish interest of the "Guides" to the material of American historical interest preserved in foreign governmental archives, published by the Dept. of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

In shortened form it was reprinted in *Hebrew standard*, 1915, v. 65, March 5, p. 1-2, 6-7, 14-15; *JCo.*, 1915, v. 44, p. 307-308, 316, 319; *Jewish ledger*, New Orleans, 1915, v. 41, March 12, p. 23-25 and March 19, p. 23-25; *Jewish voice*, St. Louis, 1915, v. 58, March 12, p. 4-5 and March 19, p. 4-5; and in *RA.*, 1915, v. 50, p. 347-351, 377-380.

References to Jews in the correspondence of John J. Crittenden.

AJHS.P. 1915. No. 23, p. 117-127. [209]

With the collaboration of Cyrus Adler.

Two early letters.

AJHS.P. 1915. No. 23, p. 183-184. [210]

Aaron Lopez to Capt. John Strange, Aug. 12, 1773, and Bernard Judah to John Tayler, July 6, 1824.

An Austro-Hungarian movement to encourage the migration of Jews to America, 1848.

AJHS.P. 1915. No. 23, p. 187-189. [211]

Abe Bloch [necrology].

AJHS.P. 1915. No. 23, p. 191. [212]

Jews' spokesman [tribute to Simon Wolf].

AH. 1916. v. 99, p. 875. [213]

[Review of *AJHS.P.*, No. 24.]

New York Times book review. Oct. 15, 1916, p. 434 or p. 10. [213a]

Main currents of American Jewish journalism; journals printed in the English language . . . in the German language.

RA. 1916. v. 51, p. 503-523. [214]

History of the Jews in America.

AH. 1917-1918. v. 100, p. 303, 307, 321, 333, 343, 349, 370, 376, 399, 409, 430, 436, 455, 464, 486, 520, 542, 576, 598, 738, 791, 827, 847; v. 101, p. 5, 29, 64, 82, 172, 189, 248, 267, 358-359, 377, 383, 673, 684; v. 102, p. 15, 28, 76-77, 245, 250, 336, 356, 438-439, 510-511, 596, 598, 702-703, 756. [215]

Main chapter headings: Introduction. Essential attributes of the American Jew. Columbus and the Jews. Iberian Jewish settlements. The marranos in Holland. The Jews of Pernambuco. Isaac Aboab. The fall of Pernambuco. The route of the first settlers [in New Amsterdam]. The petition of the Amsterdam Jews. The early tax levies. The real Asser Levy. Levy and Stuyvesant. The Jews of Maryland. Where there Jews in Newport before 1660? The Jews of New England. Early Jewish settlers in Boston. Early Connecticut Jews. The first half century of New York Jewry. Early history of Shearith Israel [New York City]. Jews in early Pennsylvania. Jews in early Georgia. The Jews and the act of 1740. The Jews and the French and Indian wars. The beginning of the great merchants. New York merchants. The Jewish merchants of Philadelphia. Early American publications of Jewish interest. Jews and the Scottish rite. The Jews in the Revolutionary War. Jews among the South Carolina troops. Jews in continental service. Francis Salvador. Jacob Philadelphia. Early history of Congregation Mikve Israel of Philadelphia.

Miscellanea.

AJHS.P. 1917. No. 25, p. 112-114. [216]

Contains seven notes.

Memorial note on Samuel Westheimer.

AJHS.P. 1917. No. 25, p. 124-125. [217]

Further additions to "Calendar of American Jewish cases".

AJHS.P. 1917. No. 25, p. 134-138. [218]

- Nicholas Darnell Davis [necrology].
AJHS.P. 1917. No. 25, p. 148-149. [219]
- Some phases of Jewish immigration into the United States.
 In: Pfeffer, J., ed. *Distinguished Jews of America*. New York, 1917. v. 1, p. [7-17]. [220]
- [American Jewish] Historical Society meeting.
AH. 1918. v. 102, p. 424. [221]
 Report of the 26th annual meeting, Phila., Feb. 1918.
- [Answer to the Jewish Historical Society of England to its letter of felicitation sent to the AJHS., on the occasion of the latter's twenty-fifth anniversary.]
AJHS.P. 1918. No. 26, p. xiii. [222]
 Reprinted in *Jewish Historical Society of England, Transactions*, 1918, v. 8, p. 195-197.
 Signed jointly with Cyrus Adler.
- Francis Joseph Grund.
AJHS.P. 1918. No. 26, p. 234-235. [223]
- "Some New York Jewish patriots."
AJHS.P. 1918. No. 26, p. 237-239. [224]
 Additional facts to Max J. Kohler, *Incidents illustrative of American Jewish patriotism*, in *AJHS.P.*, No. 4, p. 81-99.
- Miscellanea.
AJHS.P. 1918. No. 26, p. 242-246. [225]
 Contains eleven notes.
- Further additions to "Calendar of American Jewish cases".
AJHS.P. 1918. No. 26, p. 259-260. [226]
- American Jewish journalism to the close of the Civil War.
AJHS.P. 1918. No. 26, p. 270-273. [227]
- The financial and commercial background.
AH. 1921. v. 109, p. 500, 517. [228]
 In a special issue called: *The American background of the Jew*.
- Some phases of Jewish immigration into the United States.
Hebrew standard. New York, 1918. v. 71, Feb. 1, p. 1-3. [228a]
 This opens a series of papers, which continued serially, in the first issue of each month, for five years, 1918-1922, on all phases of American Jewish history. Portraits or imaginary illustrations accompany each paper. Here are listed the succeeding titles.

In 1918: March 1, "Queen Isabella's jew(el?)s" and Columbus; April 5, Abraham Zacuto, the aid of Columbus; May 3, Isaac Franks, the soldier of the Revolution; June 7, The financier of the American Revolution; July 5, The first Jewish governor [David Emanuell]; Aug. 2, Judah Touro; Sept. 6, Judah P. Benjamin; Oct. 4, Uriah Phillips Levy; Nov. 1, The Jewish companions of Columbus; Dec. 6, The Jews in early New York.

In 1919: Jan. 3, Jews in the Atlantic colonies; Feb. 7, The Jews in the wars of the United States; March 7, Isaac Leeser and Isaac M. Wise; April 4, Washington's Jewish aide-de-camp and others of his family; May 2, Peter Stuyvesant and the Jews; June 6, The purpose of Columbus; July 4, Jewish merchant princes of colonial days; Aug. 1, The synagogue at Newport, R. I.; Sept. 5, Aaron Lopez, colonial merchant; Oct. 3, Early American Jewry and Free-masonry; Nov. 7, Moses Michael Hays—merchant and mason; Dec. 5, The Jewish Tories in the Revolution.

In 1920: Jan. 2, The Jewish merchant and the opening West; Feb. 6, Lincoln and the Jews; March 5, The periods of American Jewish history; April 2, Organized Jewish charity in America; May 7, The Jews in the War of 1812; June 4, American intervention on behalf of Jews; July 2, The Jews and the Civil War; Aug. 6, How came the Jews to settle in the United States; Sept. 10, The struggle for Jewish rights in Maryland; Oct. 1, American Jewish ideals; Nov. 5, The Jews of early California; Dec. 3, The Jews and the Puritans.

In 1921: Jan. 7, An early Zionist scheme; Feb. 4, The Jew in nineteenth century American literature; March 4, Rebecca Gratz and the first religious school; April 1, An old Tammany chieftain [M. M. Noah]; May 6, Portraits of American Jewish worthies; June 3, America no Christian country; July 1, Jewish fraternalism in the United States; Aug. 5, Sylvester's American career; Sept. 2, American Jewish diplomats; Sept. 30, The Jews as American railroad financiers; Nov. 4, The mass organization of American Jewry; Dec. 2, Jewish Tories of the Revolution.

In 1922: Jan. 6, American Jewish congregations and President George Washington; Feb. 3, Thoughts on modern Jewish history; March 3, The Jews and the New Englanders; April 7, Jewish precedents for America abroad; May 5, Jewish immigration then and now; June 2, American Jewish seminaries; July 7, Harvard and the Jews; Aug. 4, The Jews and the West Indies; Sept. 1, American Jewish socialist propaganda; Oct. 6, General Grant's order no. 11; Nov. 3, Early Russian and Polish Jews in America; Dec. 1, Evidence in American Jewish history.

1922-1930

[Communication of felicitation by the AJHS., January 1920, to the Jewish Historical Society of England, on the occasion of the latter's semi-jubilee.]

AJHS.P. 1922. No. 28, p. xviii-xix. [229]

Reprinted in *Jewish Historical Society of England, Transactions*, 1922, v. 9, p. 34-36.

Signed jointly with Cyrus Adler.

Thoughts on the philosophy of American Jewish history.

AJHS.P. 1922. No. 28, p. 232-236. [230]

Based partly on his "The economic interpretation of American Jewish history" read at the 22nd annual meeting, Phila., 1914. In an abbreviated form it had appeared in *AH*, 1921, v. 109, p. 500, 517 (see item 228) and in *RA*, 1920, p. 469-470.

The Simson trust.

AJHS.P. 1922. No. 28, p. 246-248. [231]

Julius F. Sachse [necrology].

AJHS.P. 1922. No. 28, p. 298-299. [232]

Isaac E. Schorsch [necrology].

AJHS.P. 1922. No. 28, p. 304-306. [233]

Johanna Haas Westheimer [necrology].

AJHS.P. 1922. No. 28, p. 314-315. [234]

The Jews of Dutch Brazil.

Jewish chronicle. London, Dec. 1922. Suppl. no. 24, p. iii-iv. [235]

Colonial empire of Holland in Brazil.

JQR. 1924. New ser., v. 14, p. 379-383. [236]

A review of *Das holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien*, The Hague, 1921, by H. Wätjen.

Additions to "Calendar of American Jewish cases".

AJHS.P. 1925. No. 29, p. 149-153. [237]

Early Jews in Boston.

AJHS.P. 1925. No. 29, p. 153. [238]

Colonial commerce.

Jewish Historical Society of England. Miscellanies. 1925. Part 1, p. xxiii. [239]

From 2,000 to 2,000,000; the development of the Jewish community in New York in the past hundred years.

JTr. 1925. v. 85, Feb. 6, p. 30, 42. [240]

Preliminary announcement of the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society to be held in the city of Philadelphia. [New York: C. S. Nathan, 1926.] 12 p. 8°. [241]

Signed jointly with A. S. W. Rosenbach.

From Washington's personal letters. Cordiality of first president and his appreciation of public spirit of American Jews.
AH. 1926. v. 119, p. 496, 534, 542, 547. [242]

The Jews of America, 1654-1787, with special reference to the Revolution.
AJYB. 1926. v. 28, p. 193-218. [243]

Jewish life in Canada.
JCh. Jan. 1926. supplement 61, p. iv-v. [243a]

Louis Marshall.
RA. 1926. v. 72, p. 600-602. [244]

The place of religion in Freemasonry.
New York Masonic outlook. May, 1927. v. 3, p. 272-273, 286-287. [244a]

Charles L. Hallgarten.
AJHS.P. 1928. No. 31, p. 187-191. [245]

The American Jewish Historical Society.
Reflex. 1928. v. 2, Feb., p. 84-89. [246]

Louis Marshall at the Jewish Agency; an impression of the lamented great leader in the hour of his greatest triumph.
AH. 1929. v. 125, p. 646-647. [247]

[Review of] *The Jew's struggle for religious and civil liberty in Maryland* [by E. M. Altfeld], Baltimore, 1924.
JQR. 1929. new ser., v. 19, p. 505-506. [248]

[Review of] *Emblematic Freemasonry and the evolution of its deeper issues*, by Arthur E. Waite, London, 1925.
JQR. 1929. new ser., v. 19, p. 506-508. [249]

[Review of] *Juden auf der deutschen Bühne*, by Arnold Zweig, Berlin, 1927.
JQR. 1929. new ser., v. 19, p. 508-509. [250]

[Review of] Luigi Luzzatti. *God in freedom.*
AH. 1930. v. 128, Nov. 28, p. 843. [251]

The present position of Zionism in relation to Jewish and world affairs.
RA. 1930. v. 79, p. 422-424. [252]

1931-1938

Haym Salomon romanticized.

AH. 1931. v. 128, p. 227. [253]A review of Charles E. Russell, *Haym Salomon and the Revolution*, New York, 1930.

Two German Jewish families.

JQR. 1932. new ser., v. 23, p. 205-207. [254]A review of *Die Familie von Hirsch auf Gereuth*, München, 1931, by Joseph Prys, and of *Geschichte der Familie Hallo*, Kassel, 1930, by Rudolph Hallo.[Review of] *Jewish pioneers in America*, New York, 1931, by Anita L. Lebeson.*JQR.* 1935. new ser., v. 25, p. 287-288. [255][Review of] *Haym Salomon and the Revolution*, New York, 1930, by Charles E. Russell.*JQR.* 1935. new ser., v. 25, p. 289-290. [256][Review of] *The Jews come to America*, New York, 1932, by P. Masserman and M. Baker.*JQR.* 1935. new ser., v. 25, p. 290-291. [257]

The Jews in German culture.

JQR. 1935. new ser., v. 25, p. 292-293. [258]A review of *Der Jude im deutschen Kulturkreise*, Berlin, 1930, by Felix Goldmann.[Review of] *Die Judengemeinde Regensburg im ausgehenden Mittelalter*, Heidelberg, 1932, by Raphael Straus.*JQR.* 1935. new ser., v. 25, p. 293-294. [259][Review of] *Juden in der deutschen Wirtschaft*, Berlin, 1930, by Kurt Zielenziger.*JQR.* 1935. new ser., v. 25, p. 294-295. [260][Review of] *Die Lebensgeschichte eines deutschen Bankiers, 1870-1914*, by Carl Fuerstenberg, edited by his son, Hans Fuerstenberg, Berlin, 1931.*JQR.* 1935. new ser., v. 25, p. 295-296. [261][Review of] *Adolph Crémieux*, Paris, 1933-1934, by S. Posener.*JQR.* 1935. new ser., v. 25, p. 296-297. [262]

- [J. Denucé's *De insolvente Boedlskamer.*]
AJHS.P. 1937. No. 34, p. 266. [263]
- [Monte Alta, home of Asher Marx, New York City.]
AJHS.P. 1937. No. 34, p. 267. [264]
- [Abraham Mordecai.]
AJHS.P. 1937. No. 34, p. 267-268. [265]
- History of the Jews in the state of New York.
 In: Flick, Alexander C., ed. *History of the state of New York.*
 New York, 1937. v. 9, p. [203]-229. [266]
 "Select bibliography," p. 228-229.
- [Review of] *Major Noah; American Jewish pioneer*, Phila-
 delphia, 1936, by Isaac Goldberg.
JQR. 1937. new ser., v. 28, p. 77-78. [267]
- The American Jewish Historical Society.
Leader. New York, 1937. v. 3, no. 2, p. 9-11. [268]
- [Review of] *History of Brooklyn Jewry*, by Samuel P. Abelow.
 Brooklyn, 1937.
JQR. 1938. new ser., v. 28, p. 371-372. [269]
- [Review of] *The American Jew; a study of background*, by
 Abraham J. Feldman. New York, 1937.
JQR. 1938. new ser., v. 28, p. 372-374. [270]
- [Review of] *Geschichte der Synagogen-Gemeinde zu Stettin*,
 by Jacob Peiser. Stettin, 1935.
JQR. 1938. new ser., v. 28, p. 374-375. [271]
- [Review of] *The Dreyfus case*, by Alfred and Pierre Dreyfus,
 New Haven, 1937.
JQR. 1938. new ser., v. 28, p. 375-377. [272]
- Frank Cundall [necrology].
AJHS.P. 1939. No. 35, p. 311. [273]

DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE ESTATE OF AARON LOPEZ.

BY HAROLD KORN, A. M., PH. D.

To the best of the writer's knowledge the documents given below are new source material. A diligent search has been made through the papers on the Jews of Newport in the publications of our Society and through the volumes on the history of Newport, including the recent book of Rabbi Morris A. Gutstein,¹ without finding any reference to them. Their discovery is due to the kindness of Judge Archibald Hillman of Worcester, Mass., who directed my attention to their existence in the archives of the Probate Court of that city.

Aaron Lopez died insolvent. Before the War for Independence he was the largest ship owner and wealthiest Jewish merchant in Newport, at one time owning in whole or in part one hundred and thirteen vessels.² The extent of his commerce can be judged from the fact that of 445 business documents relating to such transactions, occurring between 1726 and 1774 and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, 225 relate directly to his commercial activities.³

He, like Hyam Salomon, became impoverished chiefly on account of his adherence to the American cause. British warships captured or destroyed his vessels. To avoid imprisonment he was obliged to flee with his family from Newport to Leicester, Mass. The detailed facts of Lopez's life are fairly well known; in this paper it is necessary only to recall a few facts of outstanding interest.

¹ The story of the Jews of Newport; two and a half centuries of Judaism, 1658-1908. New York, 1936.

² *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 27, p. 211.

³ Gutstein, *supra*, p. 165.

He was born at Lisbon, Portugal, in the early part of the eighteenth century and christened Edward. His father, like many another Marrano, had been forced into the Catholic church. When still young Edward married his close relative Anna in accordance with the rites of the church. Soon after coming to America with their daughter, christened Catherine, they renounced Catholicism, remarried according to the Jewish tradition, and changed their names to Aaron, Abigail and Sarah, respectively.⁴ Settling in Newport, he started a factory for snuff, soon becoming a prominent merchant and a leader among the Jews. He laid the first cornerstone for the Synagogue, Aug. 1, 1759, gave many gifts to the congregation and was made its President.⁵

His interest in education is shown by two outstanding actions. When Dr. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College and Librarian of the Redwood Athenaeum, wished to purchase a copy of Montanus' "Hebrew Bible and Dictionary", Aaron Lopez was one of the contributors.⁶ It was through study of this work in eight folio volumes that Dr. Stiles perfected his knowledge of Hebrew. While residing at Leicester Lopez became founder of the academy, his residence afterward serving as part of the academic building. He left Leicester with his family, on May 28, 1782, to return to Newport after the departure of the British from there. It was on this journey that he met his death by drowning in a pond where he was watering his horse. A few sentences concerning him from the quaint pen of Ezra Stiles, are not inappropriate: "He was a Merchant of the first Eminence, for Honor & Extent of Commerce probably surpassed by no Mrcht. in America. He did business with the greatest Ease & Clearness—always carried about a Sweetness of Behaviour a calm Urbanity an Agreeable & Unaffected Politeness of manners. Without a

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵ *Publications*, *supra*, p. 405, 407, 409.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 449, note 3.

single Enemy & the most universally beloved by an extensive acquaintance of any man I ever knew".⁷

After Lopez died, Abraham Mendes, Joseph Lopez and Moses Lopez were named as administrators of his estate, under bond of £5000, dated March 11, 1783.⁸ All these men were residents of Leicester, County of Worcester, Mass. Joseph Darr was Judge of Probate Court. Although the estate was insolvent, the administrators did not plead bankruptcy but managed the assets for the benefit of creditors. A first dividend was paid, May 15, 1795, to several creditors, followed by another, August 6, 1804, under direction of Nathaniel Paine, Judge of Probate. The ledger accounts of the estate reveal several interesting items. These records are in excellent handwriting, apparently that of a clerk. The sheets, about 36 inches in length, are in bad condition, torn from excessive creasing, but the writing, though faded, is easily readable.

The account with Benjamin Shearman shows numerous purchases, principally ship's stores, totaling, from June 2, 1774 to May 2, 1776, £7591-4-1. By July 29, 1790 the administrators had repaid £6860-11-10.

Very few Jewish names are revealed in the estate records. Moses Gomez and Benjamin Seixas are shown to have been interested in some minor transactions. On Dec. 23, 1782, Moses M. Hays was paid £105-6 insurance premium made on "adventure to Havanah by the Brig. Queen of Spain".

An accounting rendered by Joseph Lopez as administrator dated, Feb. 3, 1789 shows a total of £13,536-2-2 $\frac{3}{4}$, the largest items being as follows:

Merchandise	£4141-18-8
Notes on hand.....	5284- 1-1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Continental & State Securities.....	2360-11-0
Proceeds from sale of real estate, by court order..	712- 3-0

⁷ *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, v. 2, p. 24 ff., quoted by Gutstein, p. 195.

⁸ The documents in the Probate Court at Worcester are filed under case No. 37718, Series A.

There is an entry of £14-4-0 for 94 "new Emission" dollars, thus giving the rate of exchange. After all allowances and disbursements were made, including £646-17 for "trouble and expenses in administrating", there was left a net sum of £199-15-2½.

A second accounting, given also by Joseph Lopez, the son of Aaron and active administrator, reveals the return of £26-2, part of overcharge for "lawyer's fees". Apparently no suit was necessary to convince the attorney that he should reduce his charges. This accounting covered the period from Feb. 3, 1789 to Oct. 3, 1790.

The total claims of Patrick Jeffrey, the largest creditor of the estate, amounted to £20,510-5-8. He secured an attachment for the sale of real estate which realized the following sums. On May 16, 1795 the house, wharf and stores situated on Thames St., Newport, R. I., were sold for \$3800. One half interest in a dwelling built on the "Point" brought \$200. One half interest in a farm with two dwellings at Portsmouth fetched \$520. The sale totaled \$4908, after deducting \$195 for marshal's fees and other charges.

About the same time, on account of a note held against the estate by Joseph De Pass, 14,473 Continental dollars were sold, bringing only £3-9-4. This is a forceful reminder of the terrific fall in the exchange value of the dollar soon after the government of the United States was established, comparable to the reduction in value of the currency of several European countries after the World War. A commentary on the lowness of farm rents can also be made by citing only one typical item: "By proportion of rent of the Farm at Portsmouth lett to Beriah Anthony from March, 1792 and ending March, 1795, £21-18."

The Senate of Massachusetts passed a resolution Nov. 6, 1792, and the House of Representatives concurred ten days later, that time be extended to the Commissioner to examine the claims against the estate of Aaron Lopez. The approval

was signed by John Hancock in a clear but much more modest signature than that which adorns the Declaration of Independence. Among the documents is a receipt from the Probate Office at Worcester, dated May 18, 1795, stating that Joseph Lopez "has made a complete settlement of the estate of the deceased . . . and has fully accounted for the whole of said estate so far as it has come into his hands the same being insolvent."

Apparently the lot of an executor was not a happy one, even in those days of comparatively simple business life during the early years of our country's existence. The frequent journeys that Joseph Lopez had to make between Providence, Boston and Worcester, attending to the affairs of the estate, testify to the work and trouble involved. The lamentations of George Washington in a similar situation are recalled. They are frequently quoted by trust companies to-day in their solicitation for estate management.

Obviously, Joseph did his very best to pay to the last dollar the debts left by his father. A receipt dated Boston, August 6, 1804, signed by P. Jeffrey, shows that the son assigned, as payment for the benefit of a creditor, a sum due to him from the estate. Thus he kept unsullied, as far as possible, the reputation of Aaron Lopez as a "merchant of the first eminence for honor".

HEBREW AT HARVARD (1636-1760).

A RÉSUMÉ OF THE INFORMATION IN RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

BY ISIDORE S. MEYER, A. M.

The origins of the study of Hebrew in this country must of necessity revert to the early history of our first college, i. e. Harvard. That history has always been of interest to the student of early American Jewish history.¹ The occasion of the Harvard Tercentenary (1636-1936) celebration has brought forth the publication of a number of works, which throw new light upon the subject of Hebrew at Harvard.²

¹See L. M. Friedman, L. Huhner, G. A. Kohut, J. Lebowich, G. F. Moore and D. de Sola Pool in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 3, p. 112 ff.; no. 11, pp. 75-99; no. 12, pp. 102-104; no. 19, pp. 107-110; no. 20, pp. 31-83; no. 22, pp. 1-24; no. 26, pp. 201-210; and no. 28, pp. 242-245. See also G. A. Kohut in *American journal of Semitic languages and literature*, v. 14, pp. 217-226 and v. 15, p. 56 ff.; *Menorah journal*, v. 2, pp. 206-219; G. F. Moore in *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, v. 8, pp. 1-42; John L. Sibley, "Biographical sketches of graduates at Harvard University" (= Sibley), Cambridge, 1873, v. 1, pp. 265-268; Edward J. Young, "Subjects of master's degrees at Harvard College 1655-1791" (= Young), in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (= MHS), ser. 1, v. 18, pp. 119-151.

²The present paper is based upon the following works: *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (= CSM), v. 5, pp. 322-335 (H. H. Edes); v. 11, p. 379 (J. K. Hosmer); v. 15-16, 31 ("Harvard College records I-II-III"); v. 18, pp. 309-384 (A. Mathews); v. 25, pp. 1-13 (A. C. Potter); v. 25, pp. 239-243 (K. B. Murdock); and v. 28, pp. 361-438 (A. O. Norton).

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society (= MHS), v. 44, pp. 529-542 (J. de Normandie); v. 50, pp. 123-132 (G. Hodges); v. 51, pp. 299-302 (G. F. Moore); v. 52, pp. 285-312; v. 53, pp. 80-82 ("Letters of White Kennett to Benjamin Colman").

The records cited in notes 1 and 2 treat of the surviving curricula, the text-books used, the hours of study, the methods employed in the teaching of the language, the Hebrew tomes at one time owned by the Harvard library and of additional facts in the career of Judah Monis.³ Altogether these well-documented publications add greatly to our knowledge of the rôle that Hebrew played in Puritan New England and at Harvard College.

Professor Herbert W. Schneider points out that the appeal of the Puritans to biblical authority was a consequence rather than a cause of their ideas.⁴ "The Puritans," says he,

James T. Adams, "The founding of New England," Boston, 1926; Wilbeforce Eames, "On the use of Hebrew types in English America before 1735," in *Studies in Jewish bibliography . . . in memory of A. S. Freidus*, New York, 1929, pp. 481-502; Zoltan Haraszti, "Harvard tercentenary exhibit," in Boston Public Library, *More books* (=MB), v. 11, pp. 257-276; Samuel E. Morison, "The development of Harvard University" (=Morison DHU), Cambridge, 1930 (see especially pp. 231-240, 467-469); his "The founding of Harvard College" (=Morison FHC), Cambridge, 1935; his "Harvard College in the seventeenth century" (=Morison HCSC), Cambridge, 1936, 2 v.; his "Three centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936" (=Morison TCH), Cambridge, 1936; his "The Puritan Pronaos," New York, 1936; and his "Old school and college books in the Prince Library," in *MB*, v. 11, pp. 77-93; Herbert W. Schneider, "The Puritan mind," New York, 1930; H. W. and Carol Schneider, editors, "Samuel Johnson, President of King's College; his career and writings," New York, 1929, 4 v.; Harry A. Wolfson, "Judah Monis," in the *Dictionary of American biography* (=DAB); and his "Hebrew books in Harvard," in *Harvard alumni bulletin* (=HAB), v. 34, pp. 886-897 (reprinted in the "Brandeis Avukah annual of 1932," New York, 1932, pp. 651-664).

³ Wolfson, *supra*, DAB. See the section on Judah Monis, *infra*.

⁴ Schneider, *supra*, pp. 26-27. Because the Puritans drew their texts almost exclusively from the Old Testament does not mean, as James T. Adams, in his volume listed in note 2, would have us believe, that they may be considered as "Jews and not Christians." Adams' statements are not based upon facts or relevant data. Morison (FHC, pp. 74-76, 89-91, 124, 131-135) shows by an investigation of the curricula of the colleges from which the founders of Harvard College

"searching the Scriptures for texts relevant to their own particular needs, soon discovered the general similarity between themselves and the ancient Israelites." Like the Israelites, they too had been chosen to carry out the divine plans for the world's redemption. They too, driven from their homes into a wilderness, were to rebuild a promised land.

"The Puritans' constant preoccupation with the Old Testament and the Mosaic law was not merely a consequence of their belief in the

were graduated, the place occupied by Hebrew at Cambridge and Oxford. Murdock, *CSM*, v. 25, pp. 239-243, cited also by Morison, shows that the Puritans did not neglect the New Testament in favor of the Old. The Puritan interpretation of the Scriptures was Christian. It was based upon Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian religion." Calvin in this work cited the O.T. 1802 times, and the N.T., 2864 times. John Cotton's sermonic texts, as given by his biographer John Norton, numbered 2500 from the New and only 1440 from the Old. Increase Mather's 60 books and prefaces contain 3237 citations from the New and only 2714 from the Old. Although this counting of passages by Murdock is not conclusive as to the preponderance of one influence over another, it is highly significant. Murdock proceeds to show the essentially devout Christianity of the Puritan divines. One need not, therefore, hesitate to state that Adams' statement about the Jewishness of the Puritans is a mere and unsupported generalization.

Adams, in support of his thesis, states that the Puritan Sabbath was Jewish and not Christian. Just exactly what the Jewish Sabbath is or was, and what the Rabbinic interpretation of it is, Adams does not state. Let it be remembered that the Puritans called Sunday the Lord's day; they did not greatly relish the Jewish term Sabbath. On the other hand, the traditional Jewish Sabbath, to our knowledge, was never Calvinist in its nature.

It can not be emphasized too strongly that the cultivation of the Hebrew Scriptures in early New England was a continuation of an honorable humanistic European tradition. This tradition was shared by Puritans and non-Puritans, Catholics and Protestants alike. Such names as Pico della Mirandola and Johann Reuchlin testify to this. The interpretation of Scriptures to justify conflicting theological dogmas was quite another matter. The preoccupation of Harvard with Hebrew studies can lend no support to Adams' unhistorical generalization.

authority of sacred scriptures; it was rather the natural turning for comfort and counsel to a people who seemed to have undergone a similar experience. They turned to Jewish law, as they did to their English common law, as a definite working basis and precedent for their own institutions, preference being given usually to the Mosaic code where it was at all workable, since it was constructed on a theocratic basis and adapted to the wilderness." (*Schneider*)

It is no wonder then that Boston was referred to, by Massachusetts' Puritan divines, as being the "Jerusalem of this land."⁵ New England was also designated as the "New English Canaan." Before his arrival to New England's shores, John Harvard had been on friendly terms with John Sadler, a favorite of Oliver Cromwell. In 1636 John Harvard married Sadler's sister, Anne. Sadler, himself, had favored the restoration of the Jews to England. The re-opening of a synagogue in London was in part due to Sadler's efforts.⁶

The use of Hebrew type in English America before 1735 is also associated with Cambridge, the seat of Harvard College.⁷ Twenty-three of the twenty-seven items, listed by Eames, *supra*, were published in Cambridge and Boston. Of the twenty-three, ten appeared in Cambridge by the end of 1684, including the Bay Psalm book of 1640. They consist of sermons, two almanacs and a religious discourse. A number of unpublished Hebrew quotations and references have already been alluded to elsewhere.⁸ In some of the more recent publi-

⁵ Morison, *HCSC*, v. 2, p. 441.

⁶ Hosmer, *CSM*, v. 11, p. 379. See also Lucien Wolf in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, v. 3, pp. 79, 90, 150 and v. 5, pp. 10, 140, 143.

⁷ W. Eames, *supra*, pp. 481-502.

⁸ Pool, in *Publications, supra*, no. 20, pp. 32-33, 68, refers to Hebrew words in the original Ms. of Gov. William Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation." It would be well to examine Cotton Mather's Ms. "Biblia Americana" for possible Hebrew words also. Edward J. Young, Hancock Professor of Hebrew, in his essay "The value of the study of Hebrew for a young minister" (repr.: *Unitarian review*,

cations about the early intellectual interests of Puritan New England, references to and actual citations from the original Hebrew are made.⁹

May 1879) states: "From the first settlement of the country until a little more than a half-century ago an acquaintance with it [Hebrew] was considered essential to a liberal education, and undergraduates acquired more familiarity with it than is now gained by divinity students." (p. 4).

In a note Young refers to Bradford's Preface to his "History of Plymouth Plantation." The preface contains a selection of Biblical quotations in Hebrew with English translation, together with a Hebrew-English vocabulary. Bradford writes: "Though I am growne aged, yet I have had a longing desire, to see with my owne eyes, something of that most ancient language and holy tongue in which the Law and oracles of God were write, and in which God and angels spake to the holy patriarchs of old time; and what names were given to things from the creation. And though I cannot attain to much herein, yet I am refreshed to have seen some glimpse hereof; (As Moyses saw the land of Canaan afarr of) my aime and desire is, to see how the wordes and phrases lye in the holy texte, and to discern somewhat of the same for my owne contente." Bradford's preface in toto may be seen in the facsimile issue, edited from the original Ms., by John A. Doyle, London, 1896, pp. 10-17.

⁹ Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, p. xx,—אורים ותומים on the Yale seal; pp. 136-137,—אביב in Josiah Flint's *Almanack*. For a complete description and list of all the Hebrew months, see Eames, *supra*, pp. 483-485. See also Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, p. 326,—יהוה צדקנו (the Lord is our righteousness) as the first two words of the title of President Chauncy's volume of 26 sermons on the *Justification of a Sinner* (London, 1659); *ibid.*, pp. 202-203,—President Dunster's correspondence with Ravis, on the pronunciation of Hebrew (i.e., *Sin* and *Shin*, *Teth* and *Thau*, etc.).

CSM, v. 31, pp. 446-448. In President Benjamin Wadsworth's Book relating to College affairs, under date of July 7, 1725, on commencement, when he was installed as President, he states: ". . . and Memoriter pronounc'd y^e substance of y^e following oration, viz. . . ." The oration is in Latin; it contains a few Greek passages and the following citation is from the Hebrew: *Dicitur in Psalmo 374* *גוֹל עַל יְהוָה דְּרֹכְךָ וַיְבַטֵּה עָלָיו וְהוּא יַעֲשֶׂה* (Commit thy way unto the Lord; Trust also in Him, and He will bring it to pass).

Another interesting point about the Hebrew knowledge of Harvard men may be found in their incidental scribbblings and remarks that are to be found in books once owned by them. Thomas Prince, the collector of early Harvard text-books, inscribed in Hebrew the amount he paid for a copy of Johann Heinrich Alsted's "Encyclopedia of all sciences."¹⁰ President Henry Dunster's Bible bears the owner's name¹¹ in Hebrew, הנריה דונסטר. Moreover, it seems that at Harvard the Old Testament was read through completely in an annual cycle in the daily public exercises at the college. President Wadsworth has the following entry in his diary:

"... On Aug. 16, 1725 I began y^e Prophetie of Isaiah in y^e morning Readings in y^e Hall, and so proceeded in order to read Mal. 4th ch.¹² May 5. 1726. So yt on May 6. 1726 I began at y^e Beginning of y^e Bible & read Gen. ch. I."

Not only were the men of Harvard interested in the study of biblical Hebrew. Aramaic and other oriental languages but they also evinced an interest in post-biblical and in rabbinic writings.¹³ This can be readily observed in the

For Hebrew titles of text-books at Harvard (e.g., חמשה חומשי, (עשרים וארבע or תורה), see Norton, *CSM*, v. 28, p. 388 ff. For an example of a student's scribbling in Hebrew, see (*ibid.*, p. 389) the fly-leaf of a book, plate IV, title-page of a Bomberg edition of the Pentateuch, 1521. For other Hebrew references, cf. *MHS*, v. 18, p. 141 and v. 51, pp. 300-302. On Urian Oakes' use of Hebrew in 1672, see Morison, *HCSC*, v. 2, pp. 396-397. On John Leverett's address to Governor Edward Andros, at the latter's ceremonial visit to Harvard, "in Latin with a bit of Greek and Hebrew," see *ibid.*, p. 479.

¹⁰ Morison, *MB*, v. 11, p. 78.

¹¹ Wolfson, *HAB*, v. 34, p. 888.

¹² *CSM*, v. 31, pp. 457-458. See also *ibid.*, p. 451, on Scriptural readings. The King James version of the O. T. begins with Genesis and ends with Malachi, which is divided into four, instead of three, chapters.

¹³ Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, chapter XIV, p. 289 ff. Cf. also Wolfson, *HAB*, v. 34, pp. 886-897, and remarks *below* on text-books and the Library.

examination of the titles of books in the early Harvard Library. Cotton Mather frequently quoted from the rabbis in his "Diaries." Jonathan Mitchell in recommending the training of specialists in certain fields states:¹⁴

"1. That (besides supplies made to the churches for the work of y^e ministry) there be some fit persons Chosen out of the exhibitioners or others by the Trustees [with the] advice of y^e president and fellows of y^e colledge [of sufficient] standing & Convenient Leisure, employed in that way, wherein they are most eminent; one to be the Linguist principally for Greek & Hebrew & for Jewish and Rabbinicall Learning; Another the Historian & Antiquarian. . . ."

Harvard, as is well-known was founded for the training of ministers and was referred to as 'the School of the Prophets'; its men, as 'the Sons of the Prophets.' President Chauncy compared his students to the Nazarites.¹⁵ An uncritical tradition of the Middle Ages had it that the Hebrews founded the first universities. Samuel was supposed to have presided over the first university in the world, organized into colleges at Bethel, Kirjath-sepher and Kirjath-sanah.¹⁶ Another tradition gave the honor to Noah. Hebrew was described in Puritan circles as being the mother, the archetype of all tongues, the key to Hebrew Scriptures, the language reserved for the future world.¹⁷ One can readily discern from a listing of the *quaestiones*, that were answered either affirmatively or negatively by the candidates for the M. A. degree, and from the simple *theses*, that were defended by the prospective re-

¹⁴ In his: "Model for the Maintaining of Students and Fellows of Choise Abilities in Cambridge [c. 1663]," chap. V, "On the selection of some Schollers for special uses."—*CSM*, v. 31, p. 318.

¹⁵ Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, pp. 327, 329.

¹⁶ Morison, *TCH*, p. 24; his *FHC*, pp. 5-6 and note 1 *ibid.*, in particular; *CSM*, v. 31, pp. 385-401, for Nathaniel Rogers' oration (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 394, notes 8 and 9).

¹⁷ Morison, *TCH*, pp. 30-31; Young, *MHS*, v. 18, pp. 121-122; Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, p. 204, note 2. Cotton Mather suggested that Hebrew was the language of Heaven.

cipients of the B. A. degree, that Hebrew subjects were topics of interest.¹⁸ This pre-occupation was not solely limited to

¹⁸ See Young, *MHS*, v. 18, pp. 119-151 for *quaestiones*, translated by him from Latin into English; concerning Hebrew, pp. 123-124, 140-142. The following is of interest to us.

(p.124). Are the Americans Israelites? Neg. (Negative). 1699.

Twenty-two of the twenty-seven questions referring to Scriptures relate to the Hebrew Bible.

(p. 140). 1. Are the Hebrew points of divine origin? Aff. (Cotton Mather) 1681.

2. Is the Hebrew language the oldest of all? Aff. 1693.

3. Have the original texts of the Bible come down to us pure and uncorrupted? Aff. 1701.

(p. 141). 4. Was the destruction of the world by Noah's deluge brought about by natural causes? Neg. 1703, 1712, 1724.

5. Was the confusion of tongues at Babel only a diversity of opinions? Aff. 1707.

6. Has the Sabbath been observed from the creation of the world? Aff. 1728.

7. Are there in the Sacred Scriptures real contradictions which cannot be explained? Neg. 1730. (Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut in 1769).

8. When Balaam's ass spoke, was there any change in its organs? Neg. 1731. (Josiah Quincy).

9. Did Abraham violate the sixth commandment when he offered Isaac in sacrifice? Neg. 1732.

10. Is the fourth commandment of the Decalogue a part of the ceremonial law? Neg. 1732.

11. Do all the prophecies of the Old Testament have a double meaning, referring in each case to two events? Neg. 1734.

12. Did Jephtha sacrifice his daughter? Neg. 1736, 1737.

13. Can the pillar of fire and cloud, which directed the Israelites in their march through the desert, be explained by natural causes? Neg. 1737.

14. Were Samson's foxes, as they are commonly called, animals? Neg. 1738. (See note of Young, *ibid.*, on Sampson Sheafe, the candidate and the double pun implied in the Hebrew words שָׂעָל and שְׂוֹעַל which mean *sheaf* and *fox*.)

15. Did Jacob's opposition to his wife while she was dying, in calling his son Benjamin when she had previously named him Benoni,

Puritan divines. As early as 1311 a decree of the Council of Vienne established chairs in Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic

proceed from his determination to exercise his authority as a husband, than from his petulant disposition? Aff. 1741.

16. Was the form of government among the ten tribes of Israel an absolute monarchy? Neg. 1741.

17. Would it be lawful to imitate some of the imprecations of David at the present time? Neg. 1741.

18. Has the confusion of tongues been a curse to the human race? Aff. 1747, 1765.

19. Was Samson, one of the judges of the Israelites, guilty of suicide? Neg. 1765.

20. Is the shortening of human life to its present length generally for the advantage of men? Aff. 1767.

21. When the shadow went back on the sun-dial of Hezekiah, did the shadows go back on all sun-dials? Aff. 1769. Neg. 1771.

22. Was the borrowing of the Israelites from the Egyptians a fraud? Aff. 1771.

Only 35 master's quaestio sheets of the 17th century, out of a possible 47, have been preserved (Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, p. 160). The full text of the *theses* and *quaestiones* are reprinted in the original Latin, as follows, in Morison, *FHC*, Appendix D, pp. 419-446 ("New England's First Fruits," London, 1643). On p. 438 the following philological theses of 1642, relating to Hebrew, occur:

1. Haebraea est Linguarum mater.

2. Consonantes & Vocales Haebreorum sunt coetaneae.

3. Punctationes chatephatae syllabam proprie non efficiunt.

In Morison, *HCSC*, v. 2, pp. 580-638, the full text of all surviving Harvard Commencement *theses* and *quaestiones* (1643-1708) are reproduced. Their relation to the curriculum is discussed by Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, pp. 139-163. The following philological-grammatical theses are also of interest to us:

(p. 583) 4. Sheva nec vocalis est, nec consona, nec syllabam efficit. 1643.

(p. 585) 5. Aleph pro puncti ratione omnium vocalium sonum habet. 1646.

6. Nulla hebraeorum puncta praeter decem primarió constituūt syllabam. 1646.

at the leading universities of Europe.¹⁹ Harvard merely

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7. Hebraei sententias contrahendo sensum dilatant. 1646.
 (p. 587) 8. Puncta capta utrinque pellunt scheva. 1647.
 9. Utrumvis in verbis Hebraeis tempus exprimit utrumque. 1647.
 10. Nomina Hebraea verbi sui casum saepè regunt. 1647.
 (p. 593) 11. Litera gutturalis in lingua sancta punctat et se & literam
 praecedentem. 1653.
 12. Benoni usurpatur pro praesenti quo carent Hebraei. 1653.
 (p. 598) 13. Quattuor Elementa gutturalia (apud Hebraeos) inter
 se transmutantur. 1663. (Mock Theses. Cf. Edes, *CSM*, v. 5, pp.
 322-339).
 (p. 614) 14. Nulla vox incipere potest á gemino scheva. 1687.
 (p. 619) 15. Omnes literae hebraeae sunt in uno versu, *Isaiae* 5.25. 1689.
 16. Quinque sunt organa pronuntiationis apud Hebraeos. 1689.
 (p. 623) 17. Omnes linguae ex Hebraea sunt ortae, 1691.
 (p. 626) 18. Lingua Hebraea est omnium Linguarum *Ἀρχέτυπος*. 1693.

The following *quaestiones* are listed by Morison, *HCSC*, v. 2, Appendix B. (Cf. Young's list above.)

- (p. 611) 1. An Puncta Hebraica sint originis divinae? Affirmat Respondens Cottonus Matherus. 1681.
 (p. 616) 2. An Puncta Hebraea sint divinae originis? Affirmat Respondens Gurdonus Saltonstallus. 1687.
 (p. 628) 3. An Hodiernae Literae Hebraicae sint Primigeniae? Affirmat Respondens Stephanus Mix. 1693.
 4. An Lingua Hebraica sit omnium Antiquissima? Affirmat Respondens Benjamin Estabrookaeus. 1693.
 (p. 629) 5. An Libri Apocryphi sint canonici? Negat Respondens Johannes Wade. 1696.
 (p. 631) 6. An Americani sint Israelitae? Negat Respondens Georgius Vaughan. 1699.
 7. An Sola Editio Hebraea VT, et Graeca NT sit authentica? Affirmat Respondens Samuel Whitman. 1699.
 (p. 635) 8. An Confusio Sermonis apud BABEL fuerit tantum diversitas Sententiarum? Affirmat Respondens Guilielmus Dudlaeus. 1707.

¹⁹ See ch. IV, "Books in Oriental languages" in Pearl Kibre, "The library of Pico Della Mirandola," New York, 1936. See also chapters entitled "Hebrew scholarship in the Middle Ages," "Hebrew studies in the Reformation period and after," and "The influence of the Old Testament on Puritanism," in E. R. Bevan and C. Singer, editors, "The legacy of Israel," Oxford, 1927.

placed a greater emphasis upon a Renaissance tradition by demanding that every freshman begin the study of Hebrew. It was a requirement for the first degree. It played its part in orations and declamations, and in daily scriptural lessons. The third oldest chair at Harvard is that of the Hancock Professorship in Hebrew (1764).²⁰

²⁰ For the requirements in Hebrew for a degree, see *CSM*, v. 31, pp. 27-29, 31, 138-139, 189; Dunster's *Quadrennium Memoir*, *ibid.*, p. 291; and "Mitchell's Modell . . . ca. 1663," chapter IV, entitled "Of the education of the Scholars." Mitchell, *ibid.*, p. 317, states: "1. that the exhibitioners shall be obliged to study to be eminent in y^e Latine, Greek & other Oriental Languages, & in the severall Arts and Sciences so farre as their time & ability will permit."

"The College Laws of 1655" (*ibid.*, pp. 333-334), gives the following details: ". . . (2). It is appointed that some part of the holy Scripture be read at morning & evening prayer, viz some part of the Old Testament at Morning, & some part of the New at Evening prayer on this manner.

"That all students shall read the Old Testament in some portion of it out of Hebrew into Greek except the Freshmen who shall read it out of English into Greeke; and shall turne the New Testament out of English into Greeke after which one of the Bachelors shall in his Course Logically analyse that which is read, by which meanes both their Scill in Logicke and the Scriptures and the Scriptures originall Language may be increased. . . . (5). In the first yeare after admission for foure days of the weeke all students shall be exercised in the Study of the Greeke & Hebrew Tongues, onely beginning Logicke in the Morning towards the latter end of the yeare unlesse the Tutor shall see Cause by reason of their ripenesse in the Languages sooner. . . . (10) Every Scholer that upon prooffe is able to read ex-tempore the Pentateuch and the New Testament into Latin out of the Originall Tongues and being Skilled in Logicke, & Completely principled in Naturall and Morall philosophy & the Mathematicks, & also of honest Life & Conversation . . . he may be invested with the first degree."

Cf. *CSM*, v. 31, pp. 344-346, for requirements for the bachelor's, master's and the degree of doctor of theology in the Statutes and laws, and privileges of 1692.

On June 27, 1733, Ebenezer Hartshorn's motion for a degree was dismissed because, as the memorandum states, among other things,

The teaching of any subject is often reflected in the type of text-books and reference books that are used. For some twenty years Norton labored in the preparation of his work, "Harvard Text-Books and Reference Books of the Seventeenth Century."²¹ He recovered over 250 text-books, representing

"Hartshorn upon Inquiry declared, yt he knew nothing of Hebrew, no so much as y^e Letters. . . ." (*CSM*, v. 16, p. 614). On this case, see also *ibid.*, v. 18, p. 339, note 1; v. 19, p. 290, note 3; and v. 31, p. 507.

On Hebrew subjects, books and theses, see Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, pp. 200-207. On Hebrew in the curriculum, see *ibid.*, p. 67. In reference to Hebrew at the first Harvard Commencement, see Morison, *FHC*, pp. 257-262. For an example of the logical analysis of Scriptures, Psalm 1:1-2, see Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, pp. 268-271.

On Hebrew orations and declamations, cf. Young, *MHS*, v. 18, pp. 121-122; Haraszti, *MB*, v. 11, p. 276. See also Morison *HCSC* v. 1, p. 179, note 1 and p. 204. "Harvard students were equipped to acquire not only a reading knowledge of Hebrew but a debating knowledge of Hebrew. Not only were there Hebrew orations but occasionally one in Aramaic." Cf. *CSM*, v. 5, p. 323; v. 15, p. 138; v. 31, p. 352.

Concerning scriptural readings, see *CSM*, v. 15, p. 362. Here the purpose of such readings is given at a Corporation meeting, Dec. 5, 1698, as follows:—"That so y^e worship of God may be upheld in y^e Colledge wth y^e Greater solemnity and that the Schollars may be better acquainted with y^e original languages in w^{ch} y^e holy Scriptures are written. . . ." See also report of meeting on May 27, 1708, *CSM*, v. 15, p. 382.

For the will of Thomas Hancock, establishing the chair of Hebrew and the other oriental languages, see *CSM*, v. 16, pp. 863-864. The incumbent must be "of the protestant reform'd Religion." Cf. also Morison, *DHU*, p. 231.

²¹ Norton, *CSM*, v. 28, pp. 361-438. The libraries that were consulted in the preparation of his thoroughgoing study are given on p. 375; a tabular arrangement of the schedule of hours for the courses in 1642, on p. 362. See also Morison, *MB*, v. 11, pp. 77-93; his *FHC*, pp. 419 ff., 435-436 on programme of studies; his *HCSC*, v. 1, Chapter, "The Curriculum: Programmes, Methods, Materials and Character," pp. 139 ff.; and *ibid.*, pp. 141-142, for programmae of studies.

160 titles that bear dated autographs and other signs of ownership. He listed these books alphabetically and analyzed them as to their relationship to the curricula under six major divisions. The following groupings, given by Norton, are of particular interest to us.

- (p. 435) I. The Bible: Study and Analysis.
1. Texts (Bible, including Polyglott Bible)
 2. Commentaries. See under Ames, Bythner, Garthwait, Herlin, Musculus, Thaddaeus, Twisse and Vermigli.
- (p. 436) III. The Tongues
3. Hebrew.
 - (a) Grammar. See under Buxtorf, du Jon, Ravis [Dunster in a letter to Ravis spoke of using Ravis's "Orthographiae Hebraeae Delinatio" and "yo^r Hebrew sheet Grammar wth yo^r Conjugationall Table"]
 - (b) Literature. See above under Bible, texts.
 4. Chaldee (Aramaic)
 - (a) Grammar. See under Buxtorf, Bythner and Ravis.
 - (b) Literature. See *Biblia Hebraica* (Books of Ezra and Daniel).
- (p. 437) 5. Syriac.
- (a) Grammar. See under Ravis.
 - (b) Literature. Trostius, Syriac version of the New Testament. [No student copy of this version found.]
- (p. 438) See also under headings,
- V. Exposition and Defense of the Bible: Theory and Practice.
 - VI. Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, Lexicons, etc.

Although Harvard curricula emphasized the importance of Hebrew and cognate languages and although, as late as 1759, the first president of King's (Columbia) College,

The preparation of a list of the owners of Hebrew books together with an examination of the Hebrew scribblings and writings in them might throw some light on Hebrew studies in early American history. George Alcock, a medical student, 1676, owned a Hebrew Bible (*CSM*, v. 28, p. 350). The present writer has seen, in the library of a private collector, a Hebrew grammar from the library of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy. Jared Sparks, who entered Harvard in 1811, had already studied Hebrew at Philipps Academy in Exeter.

Samuel Johnson, considered Hebrew "a fashionable study and even a gentleman's accomplishment,"²² Harvard students of the 18th century, and perhaps even earlier, sometimes dodged the difficulties of translating "out of the Hebrew into Greeke" by the system of "hogueing," i. e. by inserting a leaf of the Septuagint into the official Bible used, at the place that was to be translated.²³ The interest of the early Harvard presidents, tutors and graduates in Hebrew, their proficiency in that language has been discussed elsewhere.²⁴ Nevertheless,

²² See Schneider, *supra*, v. 4, pp. 115-116. It contains Johnson's "A Paper Which I Desire May be Read to the Governors of Kings College at their Next Meeting after my Decease or Dismission. 'Being Dead Yet Speaketh' Hebr. 11:4 [Sept. 1759?]" in which he earnestly recommended among other things "To countenance and encourage the study of Hebrew which I taught to as many as would, as being the mother of all languages and eloquence as well as the fountain of all knowledge and true wisdom, that they may be able to read with understanding these most venerable monuments of the antiquity of man, the Hebrew Scriptures." Johnson preached sermons re-interpreting Hebrew texts, taught Hebrew to his six years-old grandson and devoted the last years of his life to writing a Hebrew grammar. In 1767 it was published in London, entitled "English and Hebrew Grammar, being the first short rudiments of these two languages taught together."

Johnson's preface states: "I have drawn up this short English and Hebrew Grammar together, because these languages appear to me to be the simplest and easiest, and (as to the Grammatical Structure of them) the most like one another of any that I know: and also from a Persuasion, that as soon as a Lad has learned to spell and read English well, it is much the best to begin a learned education with the Hebrew." As for existing translations of the Bible, "they are all but human and consequently attended with imperfection." Not only the clergy but also the laity should "have recourse to the sacred originals."

²³ Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, p. 196. Thomas Hutchinson, a future governor of Massachusetts, was rebuked for doing this.

²⁴ Pool, in *Publications*, *supra*, no. 20, pp. 41 ff., in particular pp. 74-82. On Dunster, see also Morison, *FHC*, pp. 110-113; his

Hebrew was not popular among the students. It was a difficult language to master in view of the brief period of study allotted to it in the curriculum. The 17th century students feared questions on the irregular verbs by the examiners.²⁵ This unpopularity continued down to the early

HCSC, v. 1, pp. 200-203. For Leonard Hoar's letter to Josiah Flynt, his nephew, dated March 17, 1661, on preparing a parallel vocabulary list in English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, see Morison, *HCSC*, v. 2, p. 642.

Dunster as well as Increase Mather were aware of the *Massoreth ha-Massoreth*, most likely through Munster's translation (1539). The defense of the theses on the equal antiquity of the Hebrew vowels and consonants does not necessarily mean, as Pool suggests (*supra*, 79-80), that Hebrew knowledge at Harvard on this point was not up to standard. Moore pointed out (*MHS*, v. 51, pp. 299-300) that the "antiquity of the 'points' (vowels and punctuation) was a subject of hot controversy. Most Protestant theologians felt bound to defend it in the interest of the doctrine of verbal inspiration, and the evidence of the Zohar was often alleged." Levita's *Massoreth ha-Massoreth* had established their comparatively late origin and Catholic theologians would tease their Protestant opponents by asking them to state exactly "where did the 'word of God' end and 'human devices' begin." Michael Wigglesworth was "sadly assaulted . . . with doubting whether every word of the scripture were infallible . . . because of the points in the Hebrew" (his *Ms. Diary*, Oct. 1653, at the *Mass. Hist. Soc.*). The divine inspiration of the vowel-points was part of Puritan theology. See Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, pp. 205-206.

²⁵ Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, pp. 206-207. From time to time action had to be taken to compel students to take their work in Hebrew more seriously, or to make the requirements in Hebrew easier. Wigglesworth's difficulties and that of Judah Monis are well-known. See Kohut, *Menorah Journal*, v. 2, p. 217; Friedman, *Publications, supra*, no. 22, p. 15; *CSM*, v. 15, p. 139 [College Laws of 1734, No. 7 (fines for absence from instruction)]; *CSM*, v. 31, p. 351 [Laws of Harvard College 1767 (fines for absence from Hebrew lectures)]. Concerning Monis's disciplinary problems, see the section *below*, and *CSM*, v. 16, p. 472, 474. On the unpopularity of Hebrew at Harvard, see *MHS*, v. 44, pp. 534-536, and v. 50, pp. 123-124.

19th century.²⁶ It seemed difficult to make the teaching of Hebrew popular and attractive.

²⁶ Hodges, *MHS*, v. 50, pp. 123-124, "The elective system in Harvard College had its rudimentary beginning in the election or non-election of Hebrew." See, e.g., the *Statement of the course of instruction, Terms of admission, Expenses, &c. at Harvard University* for 1823, p. 5. Hebrew grammar and parts of the Hebrew Bible were taught to the Junior Sophisters by Prof. Sidney Willard, Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental languages, and author of *A Hebrew grammar compiled from some of the best authorities*, Cambridge, 1817 (see Rosenbach, *An American Jewish bibliography*, item 195). In the *Statutes and laws of the University in Cambridge, Massachusetts*, Cambridge, 1825, p. 47, however, Hebrew or a substitute is required of the Junior Sophisters for the first term on afternoons from Monday to Friday. The *Catalogue of the officers and students of the University in Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1825, p. 21, lists mathematics, an ancient or a modern language as substitutes for Hebrew. The *Catalogue* of 1826, p. 4, requires Hebrew or a substitute of Juniors, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, forenoons, during the second term. The *Catalogue* of 1830-31, p. 24, states: "The Hebrew Language is taught to those who desire it," and on p. 25 it is stated that lectures are given at the Theological School "by the Professor of Hebrew, &c. in the Hebrew Language, Jewish Antiquities, and the Criticism and Interpretation of the Old Testament."

De Normandie, *MHS*, v. 44, pp. 535-536, "More and more it was thought impossible to become proficient in it during the short time set apart for it . . . for what profit could the study of a few months for two or three years give! . . . The students of the Harvard Divinity School were not alone in their repugnance to the Hebrew. It was said that at Andover the Hebrew department was so dry that Professor Park's lectures had to be brought in to float it." Prof. E. J. Young's pamphlet, "The Value of Hebrew for a Minister," cited *supra*, was an earnest effort to remedy this situation. Young tells in this essay that when Dr. Palfrey was dean of the Harvard Divinity School "the classes recited in Hebrew during the winter by candle-light before breakfast"; that Dr. J. W. Etheridge wrote in the preface to his "Jerusalem and Tiberias" "that his daughter began to learn Hebrew when five years of age, more in a way of a little pleasant occasional pastime than as a task." Young continued: "We need to combine the influences of Hebraism and Hellenism, and join

JUDAH MONIS.

For 38 years, from 1722 to 1760, when he resigned, Judah Monis taught Hebrew at Harvard. The room in which he taught was called "the Hebrew School." The recent publications²⁷ have greatly supplemented our knowledge of him. We now have further details about his rôle as merchant at Cambridge, his salary as instructor, the story of the printing of his Grammar, his relations to his students, and his claims for tax-exemption on the basis of his privileges as member of the Harvard faculty. His conversion to Christianity in 1722 was the subject of correspondence between Bishop White Kennett of London and Rev. Benjamin Colman who

the taleth of Shem with the pallium of Japheth." He added; "The study of Hebrew is to be recommended on broad and general grounds of culture." Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, on reading the pamphlet, wrote to Young that he had "quite a lively appetite excited by your discussion for a full meal of those old square letters."

Concerning the later developments of Hebrew at Harvard (1880-1929) see Morison, *DHU*, pp. 231-240; and his *TCH*, p. 381, 471, 474. Harry A. Wolfson is the first and present incumbent of the Nathan Littauer Professorship of Jewish Literature and Philosophy. The Semitic Museum, made possible by Jacob H. Schiff's gifts, the Harvard excavations in the Holy Land and the publication of the Harvard Semitic Series have all furthered research in this field. Two rabbinic scholars have been honored in recent times by Harvard. The late Doctor Solomon Schechter was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters in 1911. During the Harvard Tercentenary celebration, Sept. 1936, Jewish scholarship was honored in the person of Professor Louis Ginzberg of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, upon whom an honorary degree was similarly conferred.

²⁷ Morison, *TCH*, pp. 57-58, 429-430 (in 1739 Monis's classroom was moved from Room No. 11 to Room No. 7 on the third floor); Moore, *MHS*, v. 52, pp. 285-311 (essay on Judah Monis). See also especially *CSM*, v. 16. Concerning Monis's conversion, see *MHS*, v. 53, pp. 80-81. For his will and codicils, see *Publications*, *supra*, no. 22, pp. 21-24.

had sponsored it. Kennett in a letter dated Febr. 25, 1722/3 wrote to Colman;

"I thank you heartily for your very good Sermon on occasion of the Jewish convert [Monis] to Christianity; I wish you would republish it with some Declaration of Motives and Reasons given by the Person himself. . . ."

and subsequently in a letter, dated James Street, Westminster, March 23. 1723/4, he wrote to Colman;

"Reverend Sir,—Your agreeable Letter from Boston N. E. came safe to my hands within a due time from the Date Octob. 30. 1723. with a very kind Present of your Publick Services, your Discourse before the Baptism of R. Judah Monis with the three Discourses written by Mr. Monis himself.²⁸ . . . The case of Mr. Monis will be a credit to our Religion if he continue firm in our Faith, and exemplary in his Christian Life; but I am so doubtfull of the Sincerity of Converts, especially for that obstinate Party, who act upon temporal Motives towards a Temporal Messiah, that I shall not be much surprized if we are at last deceived in him. However, if possible, let no Offence be given to him, that if he do fall away, it may be his own Crime and Shame. . . ."

Monis became the first teacher with the rank of *instructor* at Harvard but, judging from the records, his rank appears to have been below that of tutor at the college. President Benjamin Wadsworth's Book, relating to college affairs, gives some interesting information about Monis's activities as shop-keeper and instructor.²⁹ He sold nails, locks, iron, laths, pipes, tobacco and hinges to the college and to the Corporation; and on Aug. 3, 1733, Mr. Monis "had a note for 7^s 6^d for Horse hire to Braintree, on College account."³⁰ The

²⁸ *MHS*, v. 53, pp. 80-81. Monis's tracts, sent by Colman are listed by A. S. W. Rosenbach in *Publications, supra*, no. 30, p. 23-26, items 19-21.

²⁹ *CSM*, v. 31, pp. 461, 467, 470, 477, 480, 481, 484, 486, 488, 493, 496, 500, 507.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

annual salary, voted him on April 30, 1722, was £50.³¹ His extra-curricular occupation as shop-keeper seemed to be the reason for his lower salary.³² At the meeting, on May 4, 1725, the Corporation declared that

"Inasmuch as Mr Judah Monis is not obliged to such a Constant Attendance as the Tut^{rs} are and has time for & is actually engaged in the Managmt of Secular businesses we think it not reasonable he should have so much Salary as wn he personally resided at College Wherefore Voted that his salary for the present year be Sixty pounds."

Monis memorialized the Corporation and it was voted to raise his salary³³ (Oct. 20, 1725). On April 4, 1726 he was voted a salary of £70.³⁴ On May 6, 1728, he was allowed £80 per year.³⁵ His salary was again raised in 1732; and on April 9, 1733, he was allowed £95 for the year.³⁶ On April 27, 1736, his annual salary was voted to be £100.³⁷ In 1739, he received £120.³⁸ According to Wadsworth's marginal annotations, Monis's salary was always below that of the lowest paid tutor. Were one to judge academic rank by salary the order would be 1) the divinity professor, 2) the four tutors and 3) the Hebrew instructor. Monis's salary, however, was higher than that of the treasurer. On February 21, 1742/3 he was granted £130;³⁹ (the treasurer received £100 and the lowest paid tutor £225). His additional fees raised his income for 1744 to £156.⁴⁰ In 1747, it rose to £160,⁴¹ and in 1748, to £254, 16 s.⁴²

³¹ *Ibid.*, v. 16, p. 469.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 528-529.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 520-521.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 536.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 562. Similarly for 1729, p. 572; for 1730, p. 580; and for 1731, p. 591.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 603. For 1733, p. 607; for 1734, p. 623; and for 1735, p. 634.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 646.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 747.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 691-692.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 776.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 731-732.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 791 and pp. 821-822. According to the record of the September 5, 1750 meeting all salaries dropped in terms of pounds. The Hebrew instructor was to receive £18-8-8.

Although Monis's salary was increased periodically, it seems that his usefulness as teacher decreased. The problem of his discipline in his classes and of investigating his methods of instruction are referred to from time to time. At a Corporation meeting July 30, 1722, the matter of his salary and of the management of his service was voted upon. Although the second matter voted upon was that

"He shal have the like power and authority to punish those Instructed by him for delinquencies in the Exercises he Sets them, as the Tutor^s have with reference to their pupils,"

President Wadsworth informs us that "y^s 2nd vote disallowed by the Overseers."⁴³ At that meeting also, the schedule of Hebrew instruction was voted upon. The Hebrew exercises were to consist of "writing the Hebrew & Rabbinicall," copying Grammar and reading, reciting it and reading, construing, parsing, translating, composing and reading without points. In September of the same year the matter of checking absence, tardiness, evident negligence, contemptuous carriage of the students was voted upon. The Hebrew Instructor was to keep an exact account and list of his pupils "that are or Shalbe from time to time Delinquent in the Appointed Exercises to the Presid^t or their Respective Tutors."

The punishment by a system of graded fines was, however, to be left to their discretion,⁴⁴ and not to that of Mr. Monis. In April 1723, when his contract was renewed, the Corporation raised his salary to £80, "The Corporation being greatly Satisfy'd with his Assiduity and faithfulness in his Instructions y^c Surprizing Effects of them having been laid before the Corporation."⁴⁵

This view was reiterated at a meeting on June 4, 1723. Experience had shown that Monis's instruction had been of "gr^t benefit to the College." In Sept. 1723, the "Orders for the Hebrew Instruction" were changed. No student, who

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 472.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

planned to work in the ministry, was to be exempted from the Hebrew exercises; and as for the others, that was left to the discretion of the President and the Tutors.⁴⁶ On May 5, 1724, the Corporation voted:

"Inasmuch as the Method he has taken in Instructing the Schollars has been thought so tedious as to be discouraging to Many Voted that those of the Corporation who dwel in Cambrige make Enquiry in to the Method taken by him and whether any thing therein is proper matter of discouragement to the Schollars. And also consider what may facilitate and Jncourage the Study of the Hebrew Language and Lay the same before the Corporation at their next Meeting."⁴⁷

In August of the same year the matter of hours and of instruction, and the assignment of the "Lower Chamber of the Old College" for the managing of Monis's Hebrew instruction was voted upon.⁴⁸ His popularity seemed to diminish. The regulation of discipline in his classes came up again at the Corporation meeting of Oct. 20, 1725. Monis was empowered to fine delinquents for absence or evident negligence not exceeding one shilling, and for tardiness not exceeding sixpence:

"Allways provided yt in matters of greater Importance, he refer himself to the President and their respective Tutor, or to all y^e Tutors if y^e President see cause. . . ."⁴⁹

At the meeting of April 15, 1729, it was voted

"That y^e Resident Members of y^e Corporation be desired, to project some effectual methods to secure y^e better attendance upon y^e private Theological Lectures, & y^e Hebrew Instructions, & lay y^e Same before y^e Corporation at their next meeting."⁵⁰

At the July 1, 1734 meeting, one of the principal reasons for Monis's ineffectiveness as a teacher is alluded to. It declared:

"Whereas m^r Monis y^e Hebrew Jnstructor, has taught his Schollars by a Grammar of his own composing, which being in Manuscript

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 500-501.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 528-529.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 506.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 572.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 511-512.

proves very discouraging to those yt study y^e Hebrew, they being oblig'd to write out y^e same. . . ." ⁵¹

The printing of Monis's grammar ⁵² together with the careful investigation into his teaching methods, no doubt, was prompted by the desire to render his instruction more effective. At the meeting on May 6, 1728;

"the Corporation desired M^r Monis to correct his Hebrew Grammar fit for y^e Press & bring it to Mr President & M^r Flynt to peruse; and also yt a sheet, half in y^e Paradigms, be printed whereby there may be an Estimate made of y^e whole Grammar, in case the Corporation should think proper to Incourage y^e Printing of it." ⁵³

This interest of the Corporation in facilitating the publication of Monis's grammar may be viewed as foreshadowing the establishment of the Harvard University Press. ⁵⁴ Not only was it concerned with its publication but it financed it partly and appointed a committee to revise it. In April 1726, it had been reported that the books and three boxes, containing Greek and Hebrew type for the college, had been received. On June 17, 1728, the President and Fellows voted to discharge Mr. Monis's account of £4, 10^s, 6^d, "for getting a Specimen of his Hebrew Grammar printed." ⁵⁵ On June 24, 1728, it was voted that the treasurer send for

"so many Hebrew Types & Points, as are necessary to compleat y^e Sett sent us by y^e worthy M^r Hollis, according to y^e direction of M^r President, M^r Flynt and M^r Monis." ⁵⁶

The details of printing a thousand copies in quarto, the selling price of same, the plan whereby Monis was to be aided financially in this work, how he was to repay the prime cost to the Corporation "at ye Standard of Silver money" and that he was to have "Liberty of making use

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 625.

⁵² *Publications*, *supra*, No. 30, items 27 and 28.

⁵³ *CSM*, v. 16, p. 562.

⁵⁵ *CSM*, v. 16, p. 563.

⁵⁴ Wolfson, *HAB*, v. 34, p. 887.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 564.

of y^e Hebrew Types, for y^e printing of same," were taken up at the July 1, 1734 meeting of the Corporation. The Sept. 9, 1734 meeting reported that an "Hebrew Grammar for y^e Use of y^e Scholars" was "now in Press," and that every Sophomore should purchase it at a price to be appointed by the Corporation.⁵⁷ On Sept. 30, 1734, the President, Mr. Flynt, Dr. Wigglesworth and Mr. Appleton were appointed a committee to revise the grammar, "agreeably to a former Vote of y^e Overseers, in June. 8. 1724."⁵⁸ At the meeting of March 31, 1735, it was reported that Mr. Monis had exhibited a specimen of his Hebrew Grammar to the Corporation, and had shown them an account of the charges "in printing, stitching and covering a thousand copies of said grammar, which amounts to two hundred nineteen pounds two and three pence." The Corporation acquired 100 copies and the remaining 900 were to be sold at

"twelve shillings and two pence a piece, he paying to y^e College Treasurer four shillings ten pence half penny for each Grammar, with y^e Interest thereof etc. . . . And yt y^e price of selling and paying into y^e Treasury, be regulated from time to time by y^e Standard of Silver money; the price of which at this day is twenty shillings per ounce."

A copy of the Grammar was presented to each overseer, to each member of the Corporation and to the various professors and tutors of the college. Each Sophomore and Freshman was forthwith to purchase a copy of Monis's grammar at the price of 12 shilling and two pence.⁵⁹ At the April 14, 1735 meeting the report of the Committee relating to Mr. Monis's Grammar was accepted as follows;⁶⁰

"viz

Cambridge March 10, 1734/5

Whereas y^e Corporation of Harvard College, on Sept. 30, 1734. appointed us y^e Subscribers agreeably to a Vote of y^e Hon^d and

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 627.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 631-632.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 634.

Revnd Overseers Jun. 8. 1724. to revise m^r Monis's Hebrew Grammar & compare it with others; we therefore report yt we have revis'd said Grammar, & so far compar'd it wth others, as to apprehend, y^t m^r Monis is excellently well skill'd in y^e Hebrew Tongue, and has taken great pains in composing his Grammar and yt said Grammar is a very suitable one to answer y^e end of his office and station.

BENJAMIN WADSWORTH
HENRY FLYNT
EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH
NATHANAEL APPLETON."

On Sept. 30, 1735, it was voted to reimburse Monis for fifty of his Hebrew Grammars, for his manuscript copy and for his time and care in procuring and perfecting for the use of the college an impression of his grammar. The price of the grammar for the sophomores and freshmen was raised to fourteen shillings per copy which was to be charged to their Quarter Bills. The hours of Hebrew instruction for the students were announced and published in the Hall. Thus did Monis's grammar supplant Schickard's.⁶¹ On April 27, 1736, the matter of the hours and place of instruction was so arranged that no conflict would arise with Mr. Greenwood's schedule.⁶² And on Nov. 3rd of the same year, Monis's schedule of instruction was again voted upon.⁶³

Of interest also is the fact that, a few years earlier, the Harvard authorities on Nov. 24, 1730 and on Dec. 21, 1731 defended Monis's claim to his privilege as a member of the Harvard faculty. It was a claim to a certain tax-exemption on his rateable estate. In the first instance, Mr. Monis was advised to defend his right by law, if need be at the college charge, because the College Charter granted its officers exemption from all country taxes and rates whatsoever, to the

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 639-640 (also *CSM*, v. 15, p. 155).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 646.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 652-653.

extent of £100 of rateable estate.⁶⁴ In the following year, legal assistance was further granted to Monis by the authorities to defend his claim. This concludes our additional information about Monis, as gleaned from the recently published records.

THE EARLY LIBRARY.

An adequate account of Hebrew books at Harvard has been given by Wolfson.⁶⁵ Norton's study of the seventeenth-century textbooks and Morison's description of the early Harvard Library add to our knowledge on this point. The Hebrew books in the library were for generations heirlooms of the oldest Harvard families. Among the donors of such books to the Library were Charles Eliot Norton, Charles Francis Adams, Georgiana Lowell Putnam, and James Walker, a former Harvard President. The problem of obtaining an adequate supply of Hebrew books was ever present. At the May 7, 1746 meeting of the Corporation its attention was called to the confusion of the Hebrew type which needed to be put in order and the treasurer was directed to obtain from England "fifty Hebrew Psalters of Dr. Leusden's Form, viz Hebrew and

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 589-590, 597.

⁶⁵ Wolfson, *HAB*, v. 34, pp. 886-897; Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, pp. 285-297 ("The College Library, 1655-1723"). See also *CSM*, v. 15, pp. 158-166 ("Books given by John Harvard"). Some of the books so listed are:

Bethneri Gram̄: Hebraea
Buxtorfi Dixionar. Hebr. Gram̄. hebr:
Fabritius in Hosea
Martiniĵ Gram̄: Hebr.
Quirbj coñent: in Psalmos & Prophetas
Tossanj Diction. Hebr.
Vdalls Hebr Gram̄:
Vocatio Judaeorū

Among the books given to Harvard Library by John Winthrop (*ibid.*, p. 168) is included "Hosee cū Thargo in Hebr."

Latin, a good edition, well bound, but plain.”⁶⁶ As early as 1767, the library rules provided that “some books of great value are proper only to be consulted occasionally,” and “shall never be taken out of the Library; such for Example are Biblia Polyglotta.”⁶⁷

According to some,⁶⁸ the library of Dr. John Lightfoot (1602-1675), the learned English Orientalist, was bequeathed to the college. But Morison points out that “there was no such bequest; Dr. Lightfoot’s will mentions neither Harvard College nor any books.” Probably some of the Harvard Library’s valuable Hebrew books showed merely marks of Lightfoot’s former ownership. The Library had a number of rabbinical works. Gee’s classification of the Library’s books (1723), which is only approximately correct, gives 99 volumes in Hebrew and other Oriental languages out of a total of 3516 volumes. Hebrew includes rabbinical works and Hebrew grammars; but all Bibles are listed by Gee under Theology. The early Harvard Library was destroyed by fire in 1764.⁶⁹

Such is the story of Hebrew in pre-revolutionary Harvard, culled mainly from the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, and the histories of Harvard University, 1930-1936, by Professor Samuel Eliot Morison. Harvard, in cultivating Hebraic studies, from its very inception continued and enlarged a Renaissance tradition. The Harvard Tercentenary reminds us anew that Hebrew Scriptures and Hebrew studies played an important part in the religion of the pioneers of American civilization and in the intellectual life of the founders of this country.

⁶⁶ *CSM*, v. 16, p. 760.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 30, p. 373.

⁶⁸ Pool, *Publications*, *supra*, No. 20, p. 49, and Wolfson, *HAB*, v. 34, pp. 886-897.

⁶⁹ Morison, *HCSC*, v. 1, p. 296.

JAMES ALEXANDER AND THE JEWS, ESPECIALLY ISAAC EMANUEL.

BY GEORGE JULIUS MILLER, LL. B.

James Alexander had a colorful career in the early colonial history of both New York and New Jersey. He came to America in 1715 in order to escape the possible consequences of aiding the English pretender. Here, his advancement was rapid and his influence extensive. Personally, he was a man of strong character, great depth of mind, an indomitable will, courage and extensive executive ability. His attainments were many.¹

A year after his arrival, he obtained an appointment in the office of the Secretary of the Province of New York and was appointed Surveyor General of West New Jersey; the second office he held for the remainder of his life. He also became Receiver General and Collector of Quit-Rents for the Province of East New Jersey. A partial list of offices which he held is Recorder of the City of Perth Amboy under its first charter (1718), Commissioner for New Jersey to survey the boundary line between that province and New York (1719), member of the Boards of Proprietors for East and West New Jersey, member of King's Council of New York (1721-1737, 1750-1756), and New Jersey (1722-1756), Attorney General of New York (1721), Naval officer of the Port of New York (1723 and 1728), member New York Assembly (1737), and representative from New Jersey to try pirates (1728). As a civil engineer by profession, he was instrumental in the early

¹ For a full biography of James Alexander, see "Family Records and Events," compiled principally from the original manuscripts in the Rutherford collection by Livingston Rutherford, New York, 1894, p. 1-84.

land development of both colonies. The knowledge thus acquired gave him the opportunity to acquire wealth. As a scientist of ability, he helped to found the American Philosophical Society, of which Benjamin Franklin was a charter member. He devoted himself to the study of the law, and soon became one of the foremost lawyers of his day, being involved in important litigation. Becoming particularly obnoxious to the Government, in connection with the John Peter Zenger trial for libel, to whom he volunteered his services, he suffered disbarment for a long period. He was the author of the renowned Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery.

Notwithstanding these many fields of endeavor, Alexander was also a merchant and trader, having a general store in New York. In January 1721, he married Mary Provoost, wealthy widow of Samuel Provoost, from whom she also inherited a going business. She ran this store for many years after they were married.

It was as a lawyer and merchant that Alexander had many Jewish connections. His volumes of journals contain many items of such interest.² They are minute and meticulous. Accounts of debits and credits between himself and his wife's businesses are common. Oftentimes when Alexander had represented a Jewish client in a law case and the fee was paid in kind, the goods or wares were delivered to his wife's store. Charges against her appear in his journal. There are also extant at the New York Historical Society over 60 file boxes of his correspondence, briefs, invoices and papers from which many items listed in the appendices of this paper have been procured. Considerable information concerning commercial transactions and legal cases between him and the Jews are contained in this collection.³

²In possession of the New Jersey Historical Society, 220 Broadway, Newark (NJHS).

³New York Historical Society (Alexander's Collection), identified hereafter by NYHS.

ISAAC EMANUEL.

"1722. An act for recovering the debts of Isaac Emanuel, lately absconded."⁴

The New Jersey statutes do not contain a verbatim copy of this law. The files of the Secretary of State and the State Library at Trenton do not disclose any additional information. Research in the publications of the historical societies gave no clue. Long efforts in correspondence with the Public Record Office at London were finally rewarded. A copy of this act was procured, and then the difficulty was finally solved, disclosing a hitherto unpublished episode in American Jewish history.

On March 7, 1720, Isaac Emanuel, conducting a substantial business in Freehold, New Jersey, made a power of attorney containing powers to collect debts due to him and give discharges therefore, to "my truly and loving friend, Solomon Isaacs late of the same place."⁵ Joseph Isaac was one of the three witnesses. A memorandum attached to the instrument discloses that it was acknowledged on April 24, 1721. It was recorded on October 19, 1721.⁶ An examination of the records of the Monmouth County Court of Common Pleas gives an interesting background. From November 25, 1720 to July 29, 1724, there are thirty-two cases in which Emanuel is named as plaintiff. Ten were instituted on March 1, 1720. They were either "on the case" or "debt" ranging from £8 to £120. The total sums demanded in these suits are over £787. Among them are eight cases returned "non est" indicating that the defendants were not within the jurisdiction of the court, while fourteen were "withdrawn" showing a settlement. There are only

⁴ Index of Colonial and State Laws of New Jersey, between the years 1663 and 1903 inclusive, by John Hood, Camden, N. J., 1905, p. 43.

⁵ See *Publications*, no. 21, p. 22, 25, 31, 33, 34, 35, 168; No. 12, p. 167.

⁶ Book F, page 204 of Deeds for Monmouth County, Freehold, N. J.

three cases wherein he was the defendant. One on March 1, 1720, was by Daniel Ketcham, for £40. 16. which is balanced by another case for £15 on the same day wherein the parties are reversed. The other two cases marked "non est" were a year later by Nathan Simson for £300 and Jacob Franks for the same sum. Emanuel must have left for the Carolinas before that date.

Solomon Isaacs was sworn and sent to give evidence to the grand jury of the Monmouth County Quarter Sessions on November 28, 1722. He was one of the witnesses at the trial of Isaac Emanuel vs. John Okesen, November 30, 1722. Thomas Williams, Emanuels' subsequent attorney, was withdrawn as a bondsman for security for costs upon becoming a witness. In the John Powel case (Oct. 23, 1723), Williams had to pay court costs for an adjournment. Mr. Murray, attorney for Emanuel, substituted for Williams as security for costs in the trial of this case on January 17, 1723-4. The defendant acknowledged £86 for sugar and £23, 6.0 for butter, but the jury brought in a verdict for the defendant. The last case in the record was settled by arbitration. Emanuel's attorneys experienced difficulty in obtaining judgments without his presence. They had his account books but no other testimony to overcome the extraneous matters introduced by defendants and their witnesses. The cases that went to trial after his leaving Freehold seldom resulted in favorable verdicts.⁷

An act was introduced on April 27th and passed on May 5th, 1722, by the Legislature. The law required any act to remain in effect for one year, within which time it had to be transmitted to the Board of Plantations in England for approval. It arrived there in October of the same year. The Board ap-

⁷The résumé of litigation is from minutes of Monmouth County, N. J. Courts of Common Pleas & Quarter Sessions, v. 1688-1720, p. 510-517; v. 1723-1730, p. 2-78 (wrongly labelled 1723 instead of 1721).

proved, because there was "no complaint against it." However, when the Privy Council of the same board considered the six acts passed by the New Jersey Legislature in 1722, Mr. West, its Secretary, offered objection to two of them, one of which was the Emanuel Law.⁸ The refusal to approve the act a year and a half after its passage accounts for the lack of a copy in the New Jersey archives.

The act, which is appended, discloses an effort to pass an individual insolvency act, unusual as a usurpation of judicial powers by the legislature. Since the common law provided no remedy, a bill in the Court of Chancery was to be filed, compelling Emanuel's assignee to turn over to the petitioners, all of his accounts, books, bills, cash and effects, together with the debts, both due and owing to the absconding debtor. Upon the assignee's refusal, he would become personally liable. Emanuel's creditors were given the power to sue his debtors, collect all possible assets, pay the costs thereof and distribute the remaining balance to every creditor in the same proportion of the total assets to debts.

There is no trace of such a bill having been filed in the Court of Chancery or another power of attorney to the Thomas Williams named in the act. There is no doubt that Nathan Simson and Jacob Franks (*supra*) were among the creditors. From James Alexander's account books, Moses Levy can be added to the list, as evidenced by the following: "1726 May 3. My wife to Law fees for 2 pistols discounted with Moses Levy for advice and writtings about Isaac Emanuel in Nov. 1723. £2.16.0".⁹ Moses Levy probably gave Mrs. Alexander some merchandise in payment of Alexander's bill for legal fees in drawing the act. He charged her account with his bill against Levy.

⁸ Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series (American & West Indies), v. Dec. 22, 1723, p. 400, item 799.

⁹ Account book of James Alexander NJHS., v. I, p. 199.

There are many references to Solomon Isaacs in the *Publications*. He was a member of Congregation Shearith Israel in 1730. A will of a Solomon Isaacs was probated in Charleston, S. C., in 1756 and recorded in New York.¹⁰ Did he meet Emanuel in the Carolinas? There is a mention of an Emanuel as Governor of Georgia,¹¹ and "Isaac Emanuel and Family" in the North Carolina census for 1790.¹² Many Emanuel families are also mentioned in the 1800 census for South Carolina.¹³ The same family name is listed among South Carolina office holders and soldiers who fought in the Civil War.¹⁴ An Isaac Emanuel obtained a license to peddle from Richmond, Virginia authorities on February 8, 1802.¹⁵ Some future researchers may yet find the missing descendants of this Isaac Emanuel.

One of the important cases in which Alexander was involved was "Solomon de Medina, Mosesson and Company, Merchants in London, and Rodrigo Pacheco, Jacob DeLara and Manuel de Costa, Bearers of their Orders, Complainants against Rene Het and the Executors of Andrew Fresneau, deceased Defendants," 1728.¹⁶ This case involved over half a million pounds of tobacco. Many original briefs and pleadings are among the Alexander papers in the New York Historical

¹⁰ See Note 5.

¹¹ Leon Huhner, "The first Jew to hold the office of Governor" in *Publications*, no. 17, p. 187-195; *ibid.*, no. 3, p. 150.

¹² Leon Huhner, The Jews of North Carolina prior to 1800, in *Publications* no. 29, p. 147.

¹³ Barnet A. Elzas, The Jews of South Carolina, p. 134.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 205, 227.

¹⁵ Ezekiel & Lichtenstein, The history of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917, p. 79, 81.

¹⁶ *Publications* no. 30, item 26. It is interesting to note that the Monmouth County records contain many cases involving Andrew Fresneau, who was father of Philip Freneau, the American poet.

Society. His account book indicates that he collected at least £290 as a fee in the case from Pacheco (Appendix III, no. 13). Another important case was the one of Moses Levie vs. the executors of Samuel Levy, wherein Alexander represented the defendant (Appendix III, no. 9, 10, 11). In his notes the attorney observes that the complainant sent cocoas to his brother Joseph who refused to intermeddle but his brother Samuel of New York, happening to be in London, on Joseph's refusing, took upon himself without order to sell the goods. The complainant's cocoas were permitted to lie in the custom house unnegotiated for so long a period of time that they were spoiled. By comparing the dates on the warrants for the Fevershams, two brothers Lowenstaff and Flyinghorse, and the time of payment in customs, it is clear that the cocoa lay there eight months.

"It may be considered," Alexander wrote, "whether its probably that Joseph Levie or Samuel Levie the nephew or any other Jews in London knew the trick of putting salt water into cocoa in order to get allowance for damage . . . Under which may be considered the character of the testator sworn to by the defendants who are only executors in trust and neither gainers nor losers, by the issue of the action or no interest but to serve the testator's family, this added to the powerful character he has in New York for the *honestest* Jew that has been in this place and a man of the most easy temper."

APPENDIX I.

MINUTES OF COUNCIL OF NEW JERSEY COUNCILS.

April 28, 1722:—The Governor laid before this Board a message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Ogdon and Mr. Rolph with a bill entitled an Act for recovering the Debts of Isaac Emanuel late absconded and Desire their Concurrence, (which) was read the first time & ordered to be read a second time (XIV N. J. Arch. 228).

- May 2, 1722:—The Bill Entitled an Act for recovering the Debts of Isaac Emanuel late Absconded was Read a second time & Committed to the Gentlemen of the Council or any five of them (XIV N. J. Arch. 229).
- May 4, 1722:—The Bill Entitled an Act for Recovering the Debts of Isaac Emanuel late absconded was read the third time & ordered the said Bill to pass, & that Mr. Lyell do Acquaint the house therewith (XIV N. J. Arch. 233).
- May 5, 1722:—And the Governour gave his Assent to the following Bills (Viz) . . . 6 "An Act for Recovering the Debts of Isaac Emanuel." (XIV N. J. Arch. 234).

APPENDIX II.

Public Record Office, London.

C.O. 5/1008

April 27, 1722.

"AN ACT FOR RECOVERING THE DEBTS OF
ISAAC EMANUEL, LATE ABSCONDED."

WHEREAS Severall of the Creditors of Isaac Emanuel late of Freehold in the County of monmouth in the province of New Jersey trader, in behalf of themselves and his other Creditors haveing Sett forth in their Petition to the General Assembly of the said province that the said Isaac Emanuell haveing taken on Credit Severall Goods wares and merchandizes, from them and other persons Amounting to A Considerable value and that Some of the Petitioners had att the Special Instance of the Said Isaac Emanuel become his Security to Severall Merchants for payment for Goods bought for his own use, for Considerable Sums of money which Said Emanuel as the Petitioners are Informed is Gone to Carolina to Inhabitt makeing one Thomas Williams of Freehold afforesaid his attorney, and Given him full power to Collect his said Debts within the said province of New Jersey & transmitt them and all his Effects to him the said Isaac Emanuel in Carolina or Some other place with Intent to Defraud his Creditors of their Just Dues.

The Petitioners being informed they can have noe Reliefe att the common Law in the Absence of the said Isaac Emanuel to recover their Just Debts humbly prayed leave to bring in a Bill to Compell the said Thomas Williams to Deliver upon Oath unto the use of the Petitioners the Books accots. Bond's Bills Rights cash and Effects of the sd. Emanuel that now are or Shall be in the Custody of the said Thomas Williams. To the Intent the Petitioners may recover and

receive their Just Debts so far as the Said Estate and Effects of the Said Isaac Emanuel with in the Said province will Extend . . . Be it Enacted by his Excellency the Governour Councill and Generall assembly and by the Authority of the Same that for the prevention of fraud and due and Exact Discovery of all and Every the Debts and Effects of the said Isaac Emanuel within the Said Province as near as Can be the Said Thomas Williams is hereby required Comanded authorized and Impowered on or before the fifteenth day of may Next to Deliver or Cause to be Delivered upon Oath duely & Lawfully sworne upon the holy Evangelist all and Every the Books accts. Bonds Bills Rights Creditts Cash and Effects of the said Emanuel that are come to the hands and best knowledge of the said Thomas Williams what Debts are standing out due owing or belonging to the said Emanuel unto William Lawrence Junr hereby appointed to receive the said Books Accts. Bond, Bills, Right Creditts Cash and Effects who is hereby Required to Give a receipt for the same to the said Thomas Williams which receipt Shall be a good & Sufficient discharge in the Law to the Said Thomas Williams his Executors and Administrators from the said Isaac Emanuel.

AND BE IT FURTHER Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that if the said Thomas Williams Shall refuse Deny Nelgeot or Delay to Deliver all Such Books Accounts Bonds Bills Rights Creditts, Cash and Effects of the said Isaac Emanuel on or before the Day & time herein before Expressed he the said Thomas Williams his Executors or administrators Shall be and is hereby made Lyable to Answer the Debts and Damages that shall be made appear to be due to all and Every the Creditors of the said Isaac Emanuel to be Sued for and recovered by Action by Lawfull Evidence of the legall proof of Such Debt in any court of Record within the Said province.

FOR THE BETTER RECOVERING of the said Debts money and Effects that shall be due owing or belonging to the Said Isaac Emanuel within the said province Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that Such person as is here in before nominated and appointed, have Liberty leave and Licence to Sue in the name of all the said Creditors all or any person or persons that shall legally appear to be indebted to the Said Isaac Emanuel and recover the same in any court of Record within the said Province.

FOR THE BETTER and more Regular Distribution of Such Debts and Effects to be Recovered, due owing and belonging to the said Isaac Emanuel as aforesaid. BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the authority aforesaid that all and Every Debts due to the said Isaac Emanuel that shall from time to time be received and recovered after all cost for prosecution or charges for collecting the said Debts be Deducted

Shall be Duely Justly and fairly Distributed & paid to all & Every Creditor of the said Isaac Emanuel in Exact proportion to Such Lawfull debts claim as so much for every pound of the said Debt due from the said Isaac Emanuel as Such Debts received or Recovered Shall Extend with in One Kalender month after Such Debt Due to the said Isaac Emanuel, Shall be received in Such Specie as the said debt shall be received in

Perth Amboy 27th Aprill 1722 this Bill having been Read three times

RESOLVED that the said Bill Do pass By Order of the House

JOHN JOHNSTON [] SPEAKER

"I Assent to this Bill Enacting the Same & order it to be Enrolled
Willm. Burnet"

On back of document is written:

"... (torn) All for Recovering the Debts of Isaac Emanuel Late Absconded. Perth Amboy 27 Aprill 1722

This Bill haveing been Read three times is passed & Ordered to be Sent up to the Councill for their Concurrence

Michl. Kearny Clk of the
Assembly

April 28th 1722

This Bill was read the first time & Ordered to be read a Second time.

Ja: Smith Clk Cou¹¹

May y 2d 1722

This Bill was read a Second time & comitted to the Gentlement of ye Councill or any five of them.

Ja: Smith Clk Cou¹¹

"May 4, 1722

This Bill was read ye third time & passed

Ja: Smith Clk Cou¹¹"

Docketed, in another corner, as follows:

"4—

New Jersey

An Act for recovering the Debts of Isaac Emanuel late absconded

pass'd 5th May 1722

receiv'd with W. Burnets Letter of 3d Oct. 1722

[in different hand] No complt. having been made agt. this Act, the Board are of Opinion that it should lyle [sic]

Reced Dec. 5th 1722

Sent to W. West 10 July 1723

Reced back 31st Dec 1723

Reported

Read. May 29: 1729"

APPENDIX III.

ENTRIES OF JEWISH INTEREST IN ALEXANDER'S JOURNALS
AND PAPERS.

- 1.—1722 June 5. "Received of Mr. GOMEZ ^{16a} as fee in the affair of his son Deceased £2. 16. —" ¹⁷
- 2.—1722-3 January 17, "ISAAC JACOBS dr. to Atty Genl of New York fees for persecution of him on an Indictment of Robbery at Westchester Goal Delivery & at Supreme Court & for his pardon & will of allowance per penal bill pay by May 1st next. £20. 12. 3" ¹⁸
- 3.—1723 July 24. "My wife Dr. to Thos Soden for 13 barrels flower and 1 barrel of Carnell Sold to MOSES LEVIE at 11/6 per C & Carnell @ 8/6 flower 21. 1. 7 Nat Cornell 1C 2. 13 Cash and Nails of flower £1. 0. 9 of Cornell O. L. 7½ weighing 1/10. £12. 18. 3½" ¹⁹
- 4.—1723-4, January 8. "My wife Dr. to Sundries for so much as MOSES LEVIE & MORDECAI GOMEZ have engaged to pay Mr. JACOBS debt, interest and charges

To ISSAC JACOBS for his debt being	20. 12. 3
To profit & loss for interest & chgs	2. 1. 3
	22. 14. 0" ²⁰
- 5.—1724 October 30. "My wife Dr. to Sundries paid her by MOSES LEVY in full of Kirtons judgt & costs & of costs on writt of Error Drummond. 70. 19. 0" ²¹
- 6.—1724 December 8. "Recd of Mr. James Alexander ye sum of three pounds thirteen shillings and six pence Gin for Liquor sold him pr RODRIGO PACHECO [autograph] 2. 13. 6" ²²

^{16a} Jewish names have been put in l. and s. caps.

¹⁷ Account Book James Alexander, NJHS., v. 1, p. 107.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 186. ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 169

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

- 7.—1725 April 1. "My wife Dr. to Thos Soden for 16 barils flower weighing 30 2 17 gross 264 tare & beat 28C 1. 5 at 11/6 which is £16.6.6 Cash & nails £1.5.6 in all £17.12.0. sold to FFRANKS the same Dr. to half weigh money." ²³
- 8.—1725 April 21. "Cash Dr. to Thomas Wetherill in 12 barrels flower bought by MR. FFRANKS at 12/4 Cash & nails £12.12.8" ²³
- 9.—1726 May 27. "Cash Dr. to Law fees for Retaining fee of FFRANKS for EXRS. of LEVIE in Chancery. £4.0.0." ²⁴
- 10.—1726 Nov. 28. "My wife Dr. to Cash gave her towards payment of LEVIE £10." ²⁵
- 11.—1726/7 Feb. 15. "My wifes account Dr. to law fees in Chancery in LEVIE exrs. ads MOSES LEVIE discounted with her by JACOB FRANKS. £23.18.4½" ²⁶
- 12.—1727 Oct. 17. "Reed 2 pistols Retainer for ISAAC LEVIE agt. Peter Sonmans—NATHAN SIMSON agst Same. ISAAC LEVIE & NATHAN SIMSON agst Same. Wt/. James. 2. 16." ²⁷
- 13.—1729 Nov. "Reed of PACHECO of suit of Hett besides what he credited my wife viz about £160—about £130." ²⁸
- 14.—1729 Nov. 22. "Reed a pistol of MR. PACHECO for peruseing his deed of purchase of Rutgers & advising ads. HAY & wife 1.8.0 . 1.1.3" ²⁹
- 15.—1729 Dec. 4. "By virtue of a power of attorney from Stephen Dublois to John Haskol & me I acknowledge to have received of James Alexander paymt for Sylvanus Palmers bond to Stephen Dublois payable the 4th of June Last for £43.4 with six months interest to this day which is £1.14.6½ in all £44.18. Witness by hand
[Autograph] JACOB FRANKS" ³⁰
- 16.—1732 February 11. Alexander shipped in a schooner, John Lush master, a hogshead of cocoa to RODRIGO PACHECO.
1732 February 14. Shipped 4 casks and 1 box of cocoa on board Brigantine Dolphin, John Marston Commander to RODRIGO PACHECO. Both shipments made from Curacao. ³¹

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 179.²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 324.²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 204.²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 323.²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 297.²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 241.³¹ Alexander's papers NYHS.²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

17.—1732 June 29. James Alexander shipped by sloop *Patience*, Vincent Bodin master for South Carolina, consigned to Messrs. William Yeomans and Gabriel Scot to sell for Alexander's Account:

- 3 ton of best Esopus flour in 48 casks
 - 2 ton of Brown bread Brand in 61 casks
 - 1 ton of White bread brand in 8 casks
 - $\frac{1}{4}$ ton of best Esopus flour in 4 casks
- (Original bills of lading attached).

The letter of transmittal states "By the recommendation of RODRIGO PACHECO, late of this place and now of London, merchant, I have consigned some flower and bread to you whereof invoice is on the other half sheet, and bill of lading is enclosed which you'll be pleased to sell on my account for the best advice."

"A vessel from MR. PACHECO is expected here every day which is designed also to be loaded to you by which I hope to consign to you a larger quantity of our product."

"By that vessel, I shall desire you to ship the next produce for Portugal in rice according as MR. PACHECO shall resolve concerning his part of the cargo."

"If this first adventure of mine to your port shall succeed, I don't know but we may have a frequent correspondence."

Gentlemen

Your most humble servant

James Alexander³¹

18.—1734 Oct. 16. "Whereas Evan Drummond stands indebted to DAVID MACHADO by bond the sum of fifty eight pounds eight shillings and three pence New York money and there was due thereon interest on the fourth day of November last the sum of two pounds eight shillings New York in consideration of an agreement entered into with Evan Drummond concerning this matter I promise to pay to the said DAVID MACHADO the said bond and the interest due and to become due therein and that on or before the fourth day of May next. Witness by hand this 25th of November 1734. [No signature but apparently an undertaking by James

³¹ Alexander's papers NYHS.

Alexander as there is an entry of accounts preceding the above.]

"Joseph Murray and I take security by lease and release & deed of trust and assignment of a bond of Brass & Marselisen for £305.6.1., half whereof is £152.13.0½ and so much I am to pay for him to sundry persons as follows: within six Mo. after Nov. 4, viz. [Then follows account including] Prin £58.8.3:

Int. £2.18.0. 61.6.3. D. MACHADO" [Signature]³²

- 19.—1734-5 Jan'y 16. "Received of James Alexander on behalf of Evan Drummond £31.6.7 being for the £30.17. which was computed due upon it Novr. 4th last & 9/7 interest to this day being the full of Joan Drummonds bond to DANIEL GOMEZ assigned to Abraham van Horn paid it in Jersey proclaim at York # on back of bond & signed Ab Vanhorn bond is put wt. mortgage."³³
- 20.—1736 May 7. "Received of James Alexander MICHADOS bond & GOMEZ's bond assigned to Ab Van horne being part of the Debts that Alexander & Murray had undertaken to pay for me. Evan Drummond"³⁴
- 21.—1737 May 5. "Recd of ISAAC LEVY for Retainer as counsel wt. Chambers 1.8.0"³⁵
- 22.—1737/8 February 10. R. Pacheco shipped from London to James Alexander in New York on board the Albany, Capt. Wm. Bryant, 10 bills of goods amounting to £532. They consisted of 42 doz. gloves purchased of Thomas West "at ye Hand and Glove in Ten Church Street near Grace Church Street": a cask of pewter purchased of Richard King and consisting of dishes, basins, spoons, forks and knives; 2 trunks of sundries purchased of Chauncey Browne, and consisting of muslin, cambric, hamhums, calicos, salamps, long cloth, cotton romalls, taffetas, and salampores; a case of china ware, purchased of John Ackerman, decorated in blue and white landscape and consisting of cups and saucers, basins, milk pots, etc; a bale of Spanish cloths; a bale of shalloon; green nap coating; a trunk of buttons

³² Account book James Alexander, NJHS., v. 1, p. 356.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 394

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

purchased of Sydebothom & Co; and a trunk of goods from Bently & Co. The original invoices and bills of lading are at the New York Historical Society.³⁶

- 23.—1738 June 1. Alexander drew an invoice of goods requested by him of RODRIGO PACHECO to come in the fall of that year. Samples of green and black coating, and a black and white cotton print are attached hereto and still strong and in good condition after 200 years. Among the items listed on the invoice are shalloons, mohair, silk, buttons, jerseys, cambric muslin, ham hums, striped felt, English chintzes, taffettas, lace, romalls, gloves, needles, combs, knives, thimbles, books, shellbuckles, etc., looking glasses, fans, etc.

Some articles on previous shipments were of inferior quality and several customers complained about them. He writes PACHECO, "Either you must change your tradesman in these articles or your tradesman must change their makers—theres too many of these complaints to be mere accidents, and if accidents they are inexcusable carelessness which give equal ground to shift. If these things come not amended, you will lose the commission of those things hereafter as you did of silk ribbons, etc., by the fault of your tradesman and by sticking to him after warning given—my wife is very much vexed at this above and those complaints of it."

In November of the same year Alexander sent another order for goods to PACHECO to be shipped in the Spring—Besides such articles as enumerated above, these were orders for brown paper, muslins, vellum books, scissors, spectacles and cases, edings, bindings.³⁷

- 24.—1738 July 11. "My wife Dr. for the Steph S made the above £ in his bill of Exn & Bottomry which is payable to PACHECO for her use £5.0.0." ³⁸
- 25.—1738 Nov. 15. Perth Amboy. Bill of Exchange by Penthisilia Putland to her brother George Putland, 30 days after

³⁶ Alexander's Papers, NYHS.

³⁷ Alexander's papers NYHS.

³⁸ Account book James Alexander, NJHS., v. 1, p. 428.

date to pay James Alexander £100. Second bill of exchange of same import. Both endorsed to Rodrigo PACHECO by James Alexander.³⁹

- 26.—1738/9 January 22. "Recd 2 pistols retainer NATHAN LEVIE ads. HAYS &c. £2.16.0"⁴⁰
- 27.—1742 Dec. 4. "D. D. DUNSTER with others £50 & somemore purchases forty heavy pistols of Stevens & ship them on Bryant for Mr. PACHECO. I gave him bills of lading & filled up one on his debt of £80 sterling 17 shilling 1 pence with interest since 1737 for which I have promised to see PACHECO paid."⁴¹
- 28.—1743 April 27. Receipt and letter of Attorney concerning the £100 bill of exchange to Messrs. RODRIGO PACHECO and TAVEREZ. Signed by John Provoost. Witnessed by William Bryant & Elisha Parker. Receipt made by James Alexander from John Provoost for
- (1) 121. 5.7
 - (2) 218. 11.7
 - (3) 24. 9.3⁴²
- 29.—1743 June 14. New York. JACOB & MOSES FRANKS draw upon AARON FRANKS of London for £300 & 300 & 200 to be paid to James Alexander.⁴³
- 30.—1752 May 5. "Yesternight arrived the Dover, Capt. Wm. Richards, by whom have from Barclay the settlement of the accounts with the trustees of PACHECO & TAVEREZ one article of which charges me with Dunstar's debt of £100 sterling to PACHECO for that they had given the bill sent home to pay it to (April 2, 1748 as by my account with Dunstar appears) Barclay and Son, which bill was one of £200 sterling whereof 150 for use of Jersey & £100 for Dunstar debt, drawn by Gov. Clinton on the Treasury, which bill was protested and lay for want of payment till last year, and the said trustees kept effects of mine and papers in their hands to a considerable value—Now as that bill was not only protested but also one per cent was deducted when paid

³⁹ Alexander's Papers, NYHS.

⁴⁰ Account book James Alexander, NJHS., v. 1, p. 432.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 152.

⁴² Alexander's Papers, NYHS.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

and I am charged by the said trustees 2 per cent for receiving said £100 that they charged me with wife postages whereof D. D. Dunstar's estate Dr. to 2/5 of that of

913 protest of said bill sterling 3/8

To 1 per cent deducted at payment of bill £1. 6.

To $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent charged by PACHECOS trustees for receiving £765: 10. 8

whereof that 100 is part 10.

To wife's Postage &c. the proportion is 4.

To $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent which Barclay charges for receiving and part letters 12.

£ Sterling 2. 9. 8

Which at 180 per cent and exchange New York

£4. 9. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ & Jer. 8.07 is £4. 16. 4.

N B Had interest been insisted upon by PACHECO's trustees it could not have been justly denied but as they at the settling that account paid £275 case of mind for Said properties in their hands they could not touch any part of the interest on them." "

31.—1752 June 12. "Wrote letter to Mr. Peters and copied same in my own hand. 3 pages. gilt. post. with copy ordinance of New York of Govr Surs Clerk of Councils and Attorney Generals fees and preamble of ordinances—Also list of people New York 1731 & 1746 Copy that J. Lines made of map of New Netherland and copy of my letter to Dr. Colden, to go by JUDAH HAYS and I desire Peters to pay me 28/6 York which I paid Lines, Survs Office, and postage of his letter June 4th Copy letter kept."

"Wrote to JUDAH HAYS with above letter and 24/ procl. and to receive the 28/6 of Peters and pay both to Ffranklin taking his rect. to what time it pays for his subscription.

Copy—Mentd. Ffranklins bill £2. 18. 6 to March 1734/4.

July 15. Received letter from Mr. Peters July 6, per HAYS, has paid him what I ordered. . . ."

" Account Book James Alexander, NJHS, v. 3, p. 78.

"JUDAH HAYS sends me the annexed receipt with £3½
pcs. 8

Philadelphia July 6, 1752. Received of James Alexander Esq. New York, by the hands of Mr. JUDAH HAYS of New York One pound four shillings and six pence in full for Gazette to the 15th inst. by Franklin & Hall." ⁴⁵

32.—1752 Dec. 12. "Executed a general letter of attorney at the request of my wife to RALPH ISAACS for all debts in Connecticut Colony. She sends with it the account of Jabez Morehouse [?]" ⁴⁶

33.—April 10, 1758 JUDAH HAYS is a witness to an Escrow agreement when Andrew Tid agrees to procure the recording of a deed in 10 days. ⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴⁷ Alexander's Papers, NYHS.

GERSHOM MENDES SEIXAS' LETTERS, 1813-1815,
TO HIS DAUGHTER SARAH (SEIXAS)
KURSHEEDT AND SON-IN-LAW
ISRAEL BAER KURSHEEDT.¹

BY REV. D. DE SOLA POOL, PH. D.

On January 18, 1804, Sarah Abigail, oldest daughter of Hazan Gershom Mendes Seixas and his wife Elkalah Myers Cohen, was married by her father to Israel Baer Kursheedt.² The bridegroom, a native of Singhafen-on-the-Rhine, had arrived in the United States in 1796. Sarah was the favorite child of Hazan Seixas, and her husband was his favorite son-in-law.

Kursheedt had a varied career in business. In 1812, he settled in Richmond, Virginia, where he stayed until his return to New York in 1824. In 1813 his household consisted of himself, his wife and five children—Elkalah, born December 1805; Jeanette, born April 29, 1807; Asher, born November 17, 1808; Alexander, born June 7, 1811; and Moses, the baby. At frequent intervals Hazan Seixas wrote to his daughter Sarah or, as he sometimes called her, Sally, and there have come down to us through the direct line of the Kursheedt

¹ [The Publication Committee is strongly of the opinion that the present characterization of these Seixas letters should be followed by the publication of the letters themselves, together with the necessary critical and genealogical notes. It is hoped that Dr. Pool will find it possible to undertake this for a future issue of our *Publications*.—Publication Committee.]

² Material about Israel Baer Kursheedt appears in an article by Isaac Leeser in *The Occident*, 1852, vol. 10, pp. 162-167; Herbert T. Ezekiel and G. Lichtenstein, *The history of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917*, *passim*; and Israel Goldstein, *A century of Judaism in New York*, *passim*.

family fifteen letters³ remaining from those which he wrote to her in Richmond, Virginia, between March 1813 and May 24, 1815. These were put into my hands after the death of Mr. Alphonse Kursheedt, son of Asher and grandson of Israel Baer and Sarah (Mendes Seixas) Kursheedt. These letters I have handed over to the American Jewish Historical Society, together with the following brief characterization.

They are written on doubled sheets of heavy paper somewhat browned with age, $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches in size. In accord with the custom of the day, no envelope was used, the paper being triple-folded and sealed with a wafer. The name and address of the recipient were written on the outside of the paper. In keeping with the delicacy and formality of the day, the address always reads *Mr. I. B. Kursheedt, Merchant, Richmond, Va.*, although the salutation at the head of the letter is always to his daughter. Only the first letter is addressed to "My dear children".

The writing of letters was not then the casual and unconsidered thing it has become in our days of fountain pens, typewriters, cheap postage, cheap paper, and swift and unceasing mail connections. Pens were quills which had to be cut with a "pen-knife", and letters often had to be written by candlelight. To send a letter from New York to Richmond cost twenty cents, and its delivery was subject to the uncertainties of connection through stagecoach or sailing vessel. Therefore full use was likely to be made of every inch of paper. Margins were neglected, and if by any chance a margin had been left, it was destined to be filled with some microscopically written postscripts. If any paper were still left over, it would be used for additional notes. Letter XV pre-

³ I, undated, but having two post-scripts of March 22 and March 23, 1813; II, Nov. 4, 1813; III, Nov. 10, 1813; IV, Nov. 18, 1813; V, Nov. 24, 1813; VI, Jan. 23, 1814; VII, Feb. 4, 1814; VIII, March 22, 1814; IX, April 15, 1814; X, May 5, 1814; XI, May 15, 1814; XII, July 11, 1814; XIII, Aug. 8, 1814; XIV, Sept. 25, 1814; XV, May 24, 1815.

serves such a supplementary note from Seixas to his daughter Grace, who had been married to Manuel Judah in Richmond on February 1, 1815. Among them are included also a business letter to Mr. Kursheedt, a postscript from Seixas' daughter Elkalah (XIV), a letter from his young son Henry (XV), and notes by his son David to Mr. Kursheedt (V and IX).

The handwriting is uniformly legible, and the spelling, though marked by slips, is unusually uniform and accurate for the day. The punctuation is erratic, a plethora of dashes and superfluous commas giving a staccato effect to the sentences. The style is free and flowing, with the uninhibited frankness of intimate letters, skipping from subject to subject, from grave to gay, from religious moralizing to punning humor, and from gossip to news. In writing to his "dearest daughter" Sarah, Seixas' pen flowed readily and often, though in XII, p. 1, he writes, "I begin to think, that one L^r a fortnight will be quite sufficient to preserve the epistolary correspondence, which we have held hitherto, in a kind of extensive excess—not so in future—we will proceed regularly, slowly, and surely—excepting any thing of moment should occur".

Israel Baer Kursheedt had received his Jewish education in the Yeshiva of Nathan Adler in Frankfurt—am—Main, and he was probably the most learned Jew in the United States at the time. Seixas uses many Hebrew words and phrases, and points his arguments with quotations of Hebrew for Kursheedt's benefit. Kursheedt would reply to Seixas in letters written entirely in Hebrew.

It is more interesting to observe that Hazan Gershom Mendes Seixas, the Sephardically named Sephardic minister of a Sephardic synagogue, makes a very free use of Ashkenazic terms and of Hebrew words in the Ashkenazic pronunciation. It was his practise to use the Ashkenazic Hebrew script, and he seems to take a gleeful delight in using such terms as Shule, Hosin and Hosen (bridegroom) (XIII, p.

2), Good Shabess and Good year (II, p. 3), Taulass (prayer shawl) (V, p. 2), Koogle (II, p. 3), or Kugle (pudding) (VII, p. 3), Kindbett (childbirth) (VI, p. 4), Havroosa (company, gang) (VIII, p. 2), a Hattiss (sinner) (X, p. 3; XII, p. 2), stumm (dumb) (XI, p. 3), "Say if I know how to rudle" (gossip) (XI, p. 3), "not even a little roodling to laugh at" (VIII, p. 2), ashirus (riches) (XII, p. 2). He writes, "Ich bin mees fon the alaga,⁴ of the Clan, in plain English" (XIII, p. 2). Similarly, his son David describes some brokers as "great Shofels" (low fellows) (XIV, p. 1). This free use of Ashkenazic terms is to be interpreted not as a gracious Sephardic concession to an Ashkenazic son-in-law, but as a reflection of the usage in the New York Jewish community of the time. For although the tradition of the synagogue was Sephardic, the personnel of the congregation was and had been for over a century predominantly Ashkenazic. The transliteration of Hebrew terms occurring in the minutes and other records of the congregation from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries similarly shows that the Jewish linguistic tags of the Ashkenazic majority had permeated the Sephardic synagogue and attained general acceptance.

The two references to Kugel are matched, however, by two purely Sephardic references to olmundogas (III, p. 2) or olmendagas (X, p. 2) [Albondigas—meatballs]. In general the letters contain many gustatory details concerning the delicacies of the table. Hazan Seixas thoroughly enjoyed the best of both the Ashkenazic and the Sephardic culinary traditions. With a gourmet's delight he describes one dinner:—"a most delicious Stew and $\frac{1}{2}$ a large Potato—Ma's own cookery, in addition a large bread fritter—as large as a plate—with madeira sauce" (X, p. 1); "Nothing but Alibut and Asparagus for Dinner and some Stew and Olmendigas

⁴ The meaning of this word is not clear to me.

for Shabbas—good appetite” (X, p. 2); or again: “the Ducks, like Geese, very fat and beautifully roasted, but they gave place to Sausages and Spinage—the fricasee was respected and attended to by all, delicious! I always put the oil over the Sallad, when I dress it” (III, p. 3).

Despite his being a septuagenarian at the time, his appetite and his enjoyment of food were unimpaired. But in other ways his health was definitely failing. Once he refers to his “usual rheumatick complaint” (III, p. 3). He writes of his debility (XII, p. 3). He is not always able to attend Shool (X, p. 2; XI, p. 1). At times he is confined to his bed under the doctor’s care (X, p. 2). Once he declares: “My mind has lost its wonted strength” (XIV, p. 3). His eyes troubled him a good deal. In May 1815—it was only thirteen months before his death at the age of 71—he writes: “My eyes have grown very dim and have been extremely painfull, ever since last Jany—they are now better and I am altogether better than when you left me. . . . Do you think I would be without a pair of Glasses if I could get any better than those I bought, after my first pair was stolen” (XV, p. 1, 3).

His intellectual interests remained keen. He had read a great deal and he was alert to new devices, although these letters contain no reference to Robert Fulton’s new steam-boats which were then struggling for recognition. He is very interested to hear about the effects of a vaccine. “Am in daily expectation of hearing the effects of the vaccine matter, sent to you the 2^d Inst—the child from whom the matter was taken is quite recover’d” (XII, p. 1).

The times were very difficult on account of the war with England; but the note of complaint is seldom heard. Rather do we see the outpouring of a happy, cheerful spirit, with unfailing good humor. He is ever ready to joke and to poke good natured fun, especially at himself. He is happy to be able to quote the captain of a boat as saying that he was “such

a jocular character for an old Man and Ma was such a beautiful Woman" (XV, p. 4.)

"Ma", his second wife, Hannah Manuel, whom he had married on Nov. 1, 1786,⁵ was a woman of somewhat uncertain humor. On the day when the captain paid her this compliment, Seixas slyly adds, "She happened to be in a right humor." In the same letter (p. 3) he expresses the subtle wish that his wife would love him as much as he loves himself, then he would be the happiest man living. "My children all love and fear me", he adds, "that is fully as much as I can expect."

This modesty is thoroughly characteristic of the man. He is simple, direct and unaffected. When he is out, he does not hesitate to do some family marketing. "On my way home supplied myself with some Turnips, Potatoes, 2 Cabbages, Celery, Beets, thyme, parsley etc. & one half peck of Apples for the children" (V, p. 1). Tradition in his congregation recalls that he could be found shelling peas while teaching boys their Barmitzvah portion. He is proud of his son-in-law's learning, and unhesitatingly and unaffectedly he writes, "My son Kursheedt, when I know him to be far my superior in the knowledge of the Laws, both holy and profane" (V, p. 1). Elsewhere he writes to Sarah about "your well informed Husband, whose modesty (or diffidence) prevents him from shining among the Literati, or rather, as they are now styled the Illuminati" (VIII, p. 1). Isaac Leaser also bears witness to the retiring disposition of Israel Baer Kursheedt, but he remarks that Kursheedt never exercised as broad a cultural influence as his deep Jewish learning

⁵ Not 1789, as the *Jewish Encyclopedia* states. An invitation card to the wedding in the possession of the writer reads: "Mr. & Mrs. Judah present their Compts to Mr. & Mrs. Dal Gomez requesting the favor of their Company on Wednesday next at 2 oclock to the marriage ceremony of the Revd Mr. G. Seixas and Miss Manuel and Share the Evening. 28 Oct. 86." See Isaac Rivkind, *infra*. p. 310.

would have warranted because he lacked an ordered secular education. Educationally he was a product of a German Yeshiba.

We get numerous intimate glimpses of life in the Hazan's household, and of the close reckoning that was needed to make both ends meet. From other contemporary letters (October 1813) we learn that "Provisions are dear. The necessaries of life so high that the poverty in the city is great." "The times are very hard. Money almost an impossibility. . . . Many are living upon black butter-pears, apples & quinces stewed together." The war with England affected New York City directly. Shipping was endangered by the British blockade of Long Island Sound and by British naval vessels off Sandy Hook. There were frequent rumors of imminent attack on the exposed city, and work was feverishly done to strengthen its defences. In his letters Seixas makes no specific references to any of these political conditions. Writing on November 1813 he speaks of "all the many wants we may have," (V, p. 3), and on August 8, 1814, when the war was nearly over, he refers to "all our sufferings for the last two years" (XIII, p. 3). But his large family never seems to have known real want. Like everyone else of his day he played the lottery in the hope of bettering the family fortune, but apparently with no success. He records receiving his "hundredweight of Matzoth & sugar for Pesach but nothing else" (VIII, p. 4). As the mohel of the community he was able to earn a little additional income, although, on one occasion, out of the 24 shillings he received he had paid 22 in carriage fares, and in connection with another Berith, on account of bad weather he "had to take a coach for each visit, a great deal of trouble no fee or present" (IX, p. 3). Eventually a month later he records that he received \$15 and the carriage fares from the father (XI, p. 3).

In the first letter we have a picture of the family's Purim celebration "with all the merriment & festivity usually

practised in my family, the Children seated at a large Table, in the Parlour, with two lighted Candles, & a great display, of *fair* Tea (no water & milk for a mockery)—a sweet Loaf, gingerbread, & some few nic-naes from our friend L in Broad St.—sent in the morn'g for *Shelach Manos* in fact they were so full of the frolic, that every one reserved some of their allowances for the next day—they stayed up until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock, & I entertained them with quite a romantic biographical history, & we of larger growth entertained each other, with the occurrences of last *Purim*, in which you were one of the chief characters of the Drama. . . .”

Although these letters date from around the time of the Battle of Leipzig, the defeat of Napoleon, his banishment to Elba and his escape from it, they contain no references to world politics. Nor do they refer to any political issues or personalities on the American scene, except for one slight mention of the hope for an armistice (IX, p. 4). But they contain a large amount of family news touching on the health, the “domestic infirmities”, the sayings of the children, who comes to tea and who goes to tea, business affairs, and the comings and goings of the innumerable members of the Seixas family and their connections. A patient worker with a very large genealogical tree before him could extract from them many an illuminating or piquant detail of information. Seixas is particularly keen in his comments on “Auntie,” and other relatives draw from him many an amusing, if not always amused, remark. We get glimpses of the character of his children “The philosophic minded Becky, the volatile Grace, she can laugh. Elkalah patience personified” (V, p. 3). He is deeply devoted to his daughter Sarah to whom he is writing. He treats her as a woman of excellent understanding and judgment. He speaks of her “powers of intellect . . . exalted mind” (IV, p. 1). The single letter to his daughter Grace is not characterized by the deep loving concern or the full intellectual sympathy that marks all his letters to his beloved

daughter Sarah. His son David also is very close to his heart. He is proud of David's "natural & philosophic talents" (V, p. 2). David, (b. 1788) who had varied and high ability, but who was never lastingly successful in anything, was Hazan Seixas' first-born child by his second wife Hannah Manuel.* David in his mother's darling (X, p. 2). David is "industry personified" (VI, p. 3).

The household must have been a lively one and hardly a placid one, for in 1814, when most of the letters were written, Hazan Seixas was in his seventieth year, and besides his son David who was always coming and going, there were with him at home his children Grace, (aged 25), Elkalah, Joshua, Samuel (aged 21), Rachel (aged 13), the twins Theodore and Henry (aged 11), Lucia Orah (aged 10), Selina (aged 8), and Myrtilla, the baby of the family. We see Hazan Seixas kept very fully occupied: "You should consider (as you say) my age, & the many laborious duties I have to go through Daily in common times, & the many more I must *wade* through whenever any extraordinary circumstance occurs" (VI, p. 1).

The letters are also a rich store of information about persons in the community. On one occasion he mentions that "the two Missess Gratz were here on their way to Albany" (XIII, p. 3). We learn who was born, who married and who died, who came to visit the house, "plenty of company to inquire how we fasted" (XIV, p. 2), and how long (or overlong) they stayed. "Mons Kickericke . . . stayed jawing an hour about that same marble monument for Mr. Touro" (IX, p. 3). There were other importunate bores. On one occasion, when he was trying to prepare a sermon, he tells: "I had written one page, & in came an impertinent intruder (I believe) with a design to find out, if I meant to comply with the recommendation of the common council—but I was mum on the

* See Henry S. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1894, pp. 17, 296-298.

occasion" (VII, p. 2). A few lines later on: ". . . came home & found Simⁿ Judah to spend the snowing day—auntee came in the afternoon, & Mrs. Jacobs chose to stay 3 hours after your Aunts, left us—so I had to proceed by candle light again, wrote 3 hours more while the gossips were chatting."

He suffered not a little from the impolite. "Last Thursday morning you should have seen your own poor dear father in the public street, taking down by ladle fulls, potion after potion, obliged to swallow them for fear of being choaked—and all I could say in respect to my want of knowledge was proved against me by my having hazarded opinions . . . you know, I never argue with the unletter'd or uninformed—unless it is on the common topics of market or Shule concerns" (XII, p. 2). The socially uncouth, too, distressed his sensibilities. In anticipation of a wedding that he has to attend the next day he lists with dismay the persons who are likely to be present, and, after designating the *Havroosa* as an *erev rav* ("mixed multitude"), he quickly and considerably adds "dont tell Abm Block any of this ludicrous narrative, for fear you may wound his feelings, as you know the parties are his wife's connections" (VIII, p. 2).

Indeed, with Kursheedt in far away Richmond, there was no one of learning in the community, and Hazan Seixas not without pathos tells how "a certain great character, said of me, clapping me on the shoulder, in the presence of all my family—'you do stand alone'. This was since K. left us—you may remember what I told Dr. L-n-n when he wondered who I could find to converse with in *our* Society . . ." (VIII, p. 1).

Naturally enough the letters furnish a rich store of information about communal affairs. The community scandals distress him deeply. He will not interfere in a dispute which got carried into court (III, p. 2). In connection with another dispute which reached the courts: "I am almost confident that I have already acquainted you concerning that miserable

rencontre with its consequences, & now I shall say no more on the subject, it always puts me in a tremble, as you may see by my handwriting whenever I hear, speak or think of it: I call it by no better name than *chillul hashem* & that in the greatest possible degree—all in the wrong" (V, p. 1). Or again, "B. is admitted to Bail—& continues his calling among the Beasts" (X, p. 2). ("B" was the temporary Shochet of the community.)

The Synagogue was not financially flourishing at the time. The little building on Mill Street, over three quarters of a century in age, was outgrown and in disrepair. On account of the war with Great Britain times were far from prosperous. "Business is at a standstill, people calculate upon an armistice" (IX, p. 4). The result for the Synagogue was financial stringency. The Synagogue minutes talk of "the convulsed state of the times" (Nov. 27, 1814) and "the reduced state of the finances of the congregation" (March 27, 1814). Seixas writes of "hard times indeed. No money in the treasury" (*Ibid.*). At one time (Dec. 1813) it was suggested that a lottery be held to raise funds for the Synagogue. The Synagogue administration was faced also with difficulties other than financial. The congregation was far from united. One prominent member resigned and declared that he would not attend Synagogue in protest at the election of two trustees of whom he disapproved. From time to time individual trustees resigned. Between Nov. 27, 1814 and April 4, 1815, i.e., during a period of over four months, no meeting of the Board of Trustees was held, and then the first meeting that convened was later declared illegal because only three of the six trustees were present. Great difficulty was found in getting a quorum to attend a meeting. We can therefore understand when Seixas writes: "There is talk of doing something to rectify the affairs of the Shule. How it will be effected I know not" (XII, p. 2); "Shule affairs much in the

same mismanagement as (when) you left them—& no prospect of change for the better” (XV, p. 4).

He refers to Moses Levi Maduro Peixotto with great affection, as when he writes: “Paixota read Shabbass Zachor, & the eveng of Purim, very good indeed!—willing at all times, broke his fast with *us*—” (XV, p. 4). Peixotto, it will be remembered, later stepped into the breach on the death of Seixas and undertook to act as Hazan for one year on condition that the salary and emoluments of the office should be paid not to him but to the widow and many small children of the late Hazan Seixas.

Shule news fills a considerable part of the letters. Thus we learn that on Yom Kippur (September 1814) “after the *Sefarim* were deposited in the *Hechal*, I made the usual *Hashcaboith*, & Mr. A Levy read the *Arbith*—Mr. Zuntz the *Shachrith*—the *Parashoth* &c until the *Musaf*—I performed—A. Levy the *Musaph*—Mr. J. Hart the *Minchah* excepting the *Sefer* & offergs &c &c. then I commenced again with the stated *Hashcaboith* & concluded the service of the day ‘in a most masterly manner’ that is the *Neilah* & *Arbith*, came home, took a jug of soda with madeira & sugar—in the old Glass as originally . . .” (XIV, p. 4).

Of incidental touches, revealing pictures and happenings of the times there are not a few. The mails depended on the stage coach, which depended on the weather and the state of roads. On one occasion he writes (XIII, p. 3): “I hope my last letter was not among the number injured by the rain, the last week or two back. I was told the whole Mail was thoroughly soaked—besides, the circuitous route the rider was obliged to take.” On another occasion (II, p. 2) he reports that Solomon Seixas “had to walk 10 miles, the mail stage upset twice, there has not been any passenger would venture in it upwards of a week.”

Elsewhere he writes about Aunty [Abigail] Judah “the trouble & difficulties which she has experienced, & the still

continued disappointments, she meets with, in her attempts to visit us, for, now upwards of 3 (or 4) months, & only within one day's ride, of this City, tho' at present it takes the greatest part of two days to perform the journey, as the roads are so extremely bad, that it requires the greatest care, to preserve the Travellers from danger" (II, p. 2).

The high seas, swarming with armed vessels and privateers, were even less secure than were the bad roads. "Mark! Solomons, his wife & 3 Children—the youngest born (a boy) 4 or 5 days previous to embarking, arrived here yester afternoon—Dr. Florence's wife & 6 children with 3 blacks—David Moses, Sally Machado's son—& a grand-daughter of Hazan Cohen—about 10 or 11 years old (a prodigy!! in sense & learning)—so I have heard—all came in the same vessel—overhauled by a frigate's crew & escaped without damage—without ransom—the british officer happened to be the American Captain's Nephew—recognised each other after an absence of some years—very glad to see each other—settled the business—& here they are safe—at present" (XII, p. 2). In the same letter (p. 3) he tells how "Mrs. Betsy Judah has a Cousin from Jamaica, come here as an American, in preference of going to Halifax—was taken on a voyage from Jamaica by one of our vessels—retaken by the British & ordered to one of their ports—"

We read of a special day, February 2, 1814, set by the common council of the city as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer and collecting of funds for the relief of the inhabitants of Niagara and Genesee Counties. On Dec. 19, 1813, a month and a half previously, the British had taken possession of Fort Niagara and in retaliation had burned Youngstown, Lewiston, Manchester and the Indian village of Tuscarora. In this connection Seixas records how: "Last monday noon, just as I set down to compose a Short Address to the Congregation, for wednesday the 2^d feby to be observ'd as a day of fasting, humiliation, & prayer, as you may have seen

by the public prints of this City, in consequence of our disasters in the *maarakvith tsefonith* [northwest] & to make a Collection, towards relieving the suffering Inhabitants of that part of our State (12000 souls) & for which we made up \$149.25 . . ." (VII, p. 1). He details the order of service which he arranged and carried out on that occasion. The minutes of his congregation make mention of an official letter of appreciation sent to him by the Board of Trustees for his appropriate discourse. He tells us in his letters that, taking his text from Deuteronomy XXX. 15 and 16, his theme was to prove "that War was an Evil of the greatest magnitude, by David's declaration to Gad, Samuel 2^d Book Chap 24th Verse 14th" (VII, p. 1). Though Seixas considered the contribution of \$149.25 made through the Synagogue as inadequate, it was more than one ninth of the total amount (\$1285.94) collected by all the churches of the city. This is a strikingly large amount in comparison with the size of the Jewish community—perhaps about 1/300th of the total population of 92,448 at that time.

Seixas is on friendly personal terms with many of his Christian fellow citizens, with some of whom visits were exchanged. A Mr. Dunbar, on one occasion, sends him a barrel of cider (IX, p. 3).

One person who appears several times in the letters is George Bethune English. English was at the time an eccentric young man of 26 who, after failing to make a success in the Christian ministry, had recently caused a violent fluttering in Protestant dovecotes by the publication of his "The Grounds of Christianity Examined by Comparing the New Testament with The Old" (1813). His work drew spirited defences of Christianity from William Ellery Channing and Edward Everett. Here was a first-class controversy and furore into which English for his own defence was not unwilling to draw Seixas.

Seixas writes (VI, p. 2) "Last friday I rec^d another L^r from G. B. English, accompanied with a Pamphlet written to a Mr. Cary, who had published a Review of his Book, & who I find by the answer, has been very severe against him, for his attempt to invalidate the belief of the Trinity—I am now more convinced of my former opinion, that he is a strict disciple of the late Dr. Priestly, whose writings are founded on the same arguments & reasonings, as quoted by English, & who have also copied from all the Writers, since the time of Spinoza (the apostate Jew) who was the first that broached the doctrine of free-thinking among the english, there have been many Authors that have published their opinions to the World, some were thought to be deistical & some Atheistical—in fact all bordering on the foundation layed by the original Inventor, who asserted that this world was made by a self creative power in the Atoms, of which it is composed, & quotes the *Shehakim* (a name of Heaven) as proof sufficient, to be govern'd by—Bolinbroke, Tindal, Toland, Colins, & some others I have read 50 years ago, & many others of inferior rank, both before & since, down to Voltaire, Rosseau & their co-adjutors, whom I call moderns in comparison to those mentioned previously—the same Ideas are now newly modeled to suit the times, in order to explode the trinativial system gradually—which I have no doubt of its being accomplished—before the coming of the great & terrible day *Hinneḥ yom ba*, etc. Malachi." Seixas discreetly determines not to be drawn into any anti-Christian theological polemics. "I mean not to be concerned in the business, either by correspondence, or vending any of his works, so as to sanction him in making use of my name—you know I am not ambitious of Fame & as to Interest I see no prospect of gain—Could I only experience, a reformation among ourselves, I should be perfectly satisfied, nor do I think that such publications, would have any tendency towards its accomplishment—repentance and amendment are the only means, to reinstate

us in the sight of our Creator, to obtain his divine Grace, to restore us to our own Land wherein we may dwell in Peace—in happiness! according to the words of our sacred Prophets” (VI, p. 3).

When George Bethune English visited Seixas a little later in May 1814, Seixas described him as “a poor looking undersized man—about 24 years old” (X, p. 2). At the time Seixas was recovering from illness, but nevertheless “Mr. E has been here about an hour—I heard him quite patiently—I justified my conduct in respect to not being concerned in the propagating of his Doctrines by vending his Books—he thoroughly approved of my opinions concerning them—& here the matter rests” (X, p. 2).

A little later on: “Mr. E came at about 5 Stayed until 8—being engaged for the evening—he certainly is a man of great reading—besides being a classical scholar—& well versed in the hebrew grammar—gained a gold medal at the college—for the best treatise on the origin of points—I forgot to mention that Daddy [David] likes him & came in to be one of the Company—you may depend there was no lack of conversation—he was here *before* dinner on *Shabbat* and was invited to Tea—he has told somebody, & the by-word has passed through many somebodies, until it reached cousin Beckey—who told it to me, that he had gained more knowledge of y^r Father, in the short conversation he had with him, than from all the Books which he has read—if so of me, what will he say of our d^r [dear] K? after conversing with him! tomorrow he sets off for Phi^a how long to remain there—uncertain—thence to Richmond—” (XI, p. 2).

In refusing to be drawn into the affairs and controversies of George Bethune English, Seixas showed sound judgment as to his responsibilities as a Jewish religious leader, and sound judgment of English. For English was a most unstable individual. A few years later, as a Lieutenant of the Marines, English left his boat at Alexandria, resigned his commission

and became a Moslem. The rest of his fantastic career as a traveler, linguist, spy, plagiarist and eccentric, fully justified Seixas' determination to offer him nothing beyond the utmost of courtesy.

We must resist the temptation to gossip on, and to listen to the free conversation of Gershom Mendes Seixas. We have learned to know him through these letters as a man of brave humor, who accepted the whips and arrows of outrageous fortune with an unfailing quizzical philosophic smile. Jolly and frolicsome within the family circle, he also found occasion to give to his family moral admonition and a religious guidance which sprang not from any professional manner but from an inherent goodness. These letters give us the privilege of knowing him in his old age when he is mellow, tempered in his judgments, and sagacious from long experience of dealing with people. His was a mind that showed no weakening. At 70 he was as vigorous in his interests as in his *joie de vivre*. Thanks to these letters the revered patriot minister of the Revolution and Trustee of Columbia College is no longer only a formal historical figure. He steps off the pulpit and the platform and becomes a living man of flesh and blood and genial spirit.⁷

⁷ The sources used in the preparation of this paper are the Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Congregation Shearith Israel, New York, 1813-1815; I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, vol. 3; the article "George Bethune English" in the *Dictionary of American biography*; and unpublished genealogical material and material about David Seixas in the possession of the writer.

A POCKET EDITION PRAYER BOOK FOR GERMAN JEWISH EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA, 1842.

BY ISAAC RIVKIND.

Miniature books or pocket editions were meant by the early printers to be novelties of typography just as, before the age of printing, many master scribes meant their miniature volumes, which they embellished with tiny artistic lettering and diminutive illustrations of real artistry and craftsmanship, to be a novelty of the scribe's art. The variety and wealth of such miniature editions, both printed and in manuscript, were partially shown in an exhibition by the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in its Museum, in the summer of 1938.¹

Small size editions, particularly volumes printed on vellum, on differently colored paper or in variously colored ink, were originally intended as objects of luxury. Another reason for their existence and comparative popularity was convenience of handling. Since early Jewish books were largely huge tomes of folio size, the need for smaller sizes soon arose. They were usually described on their title-pages למען ישא איש בחיקו ("in order that one may conveniently carry them about"). The third and the most important motive was the economic one. Jews, as a trading folk, of necessity had to travel from one country to another, from city to city and from fair to fair. Since the study of Torah in former times was not a mere injunction ("Thou shalt meditate therein day and night," *Joshua* 1: 8) but was practiced in the

¹ More details about the exhibition are given by Paul Romanoff, in his "Books in miniature" in *American Hebrew*, June 10, 1938, p. 5. A number of illustrations are given there.

literal sense of *Deuteronomy* 6:7,² there soon arose an ever-growing demand for volumes of a size suitable for such travelling people.

The economic motive was recognized as early as 1555 by the printer Tobias Foa in his miniature daily prayer book, 7 x 4.5 cm. ספרד סדר תפלות כל השנה, כמנהג ק"ק ספרד issued by him in Sabionetta, with a calendar at the end.

„זה הסדור קטן הכמות . . . להיות כל איש שורר בו בביתו בשכנו ובקומו ובלכתו בדרך לעסקיו [ל]מען עשו כיום הזה להיות עם רב כרצון איש ואיש הגדלנו והוספנו בסופו לוח קבוע . . . באופן יהיה גם רב האיכות . . .”

The usefulness of a calendar in such a prayer book, intended for a special public, is very obvious and may properly be regarded as an innovation of great importance. Later Jewish pocket calendars were in effect handbooks for merchants. Besides giving the dates of all fast and feast days and chronological events of Jewish history, they indicated various kinds of commercial information, such as dates for mails, sailing vessels, coaches, outriders, fairs in various cities and provinces, location of roads, and the money values of different countries.

The economic consideration is much more evident in the small editions of the bookseller Jacob Polak³ of Reussen in the Lithuanian city of Meseritz, near Brest-Litovsk (ממדינת רייסן, מק"ק מעזריטש דליטא אצל בריסק). During 1598-1603 he pursued his trade in Basel. In the preface to his מחזור קטן מכל השנה כמנהג אשכנזים, 1599, he writes as follows:

„להתחיל להדפיס מחזורים קטנים מכל השנה כמנהג האשכנזים למען זכות בו את הרבים וגם בראותי צריך [!] גדול אל כל בני ישראל ובפרט בזמן הזה שהיהודים עוברים ושבים חולכים ומתנדנים ממדינה

²“And thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.”

³C. B. (Steinschneider's Bodleian Catalogue), col. 2922, No. 8290.

למדינה ומעיר לעיר וממקום למקום עם סחורה ובשאר צרכיהם אמרתי להיות כי נדפס מחזור קטן להקל חמשה להיות ביד כל אחד ואחד ובפרט שיזדמני [!] הירידים דק"ק פרנקבורט בשלש רגלים ובימים נוראים להיות בידו להביא עמו לקהילה הקדושה ביריד אשר חנני אלהים וכזה יצא ידי חובתו. וגם אני ראיתי בעני האורחים עומדים חוץ לבית הכנסת רצים הנה והנה ואינם משגיחים על השליח ציבור לומר ג"כ פיוטים והסיבה הוא שאין ביד כל אחד ואחד מחזור ע"כ נתעוררתי וגם הסכימו הרב [נים] בעלי בתים דק"ק פרנקבורט להדפיס זה המחזור להיות מצוי ביד כל אחד ואחד כמו תפילה קטנה ובזה יוצא כל אחד ואחד ידי חובתו . . ."

All branches of Jewish learning were represented in these miniature editions,—Bible, liturgy, Talmud, Codes, sermons and philosophy. The prayer book, however, was destined to outnumber far and away in editions every other kind of Jewish book, since it was the most likely volume to be needed by one setting out on a journey. The prayer book has been and still is the most widely-spread and the best-known. Prof. A. Berliner is quite correct in his statement: "Wenn man auch in vielen Familien kein Exemplar der heiligen Schrift findet, ein Siddur zur Benutzung wird selten fehlen."⁴ The title-pages characteristic of these prayer books indicate their purpose, e. g.

1. **ובלכתך בדרך** (Sephardic Minhag), no. pl., 1816. A volume similarly entitled exists in an 1884, Warsaw, edition, 6.3 x 4.5 cm.

2. **בלכתך בדרך, מקום אשר תדרוך כף רגלך הן בים הן ביבשה**, by Solomon ben Ephraim Bloch. (German title: Gebetbuch für Reisende). Hannover, 5618 (1858).

3. **תפלה לדרך** Krotoschin, 1860. (On verso of title-page are indicated the places at the Breslau and Frankfurt fairs where it can be purchased.

4. **עוברי אורח**. Wilno, 5647 (1887).

5. **תפלת הדרך** Jarba, 1917. (On red paper and not to be confused with another collection of prayers, similarly entitled, which contains only the special prayers for a traveller.)

⁴ See his *Randbemerkungen zum täglichen Gebetbuche (Siddur)*, Berlin, 1909, p. 3.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find small-size prayer books for the use of emigrants to America, just as soon as emigration to this country began to assume considerable proportions. The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary possesses four editions of such "American" prayer books, all printed in Fürth, Bavaria, in the years 1842, 1849, 1855, and



1860.⁵ The American Jewish Historical Society possesses the editions of 1842 and 1855. Presumably there were other editions, but they remain bibliographically unrecorded. Undoubtedly, such prayer books, if called for, would have been printed, at that time, in countries other than Germany. If,

⁵ L. Löwenstein, in his *Die hebräischen Druckereien in Fürth*, records only the editions of 1842 and 1860 (his numbers 426 and 464). The editions of 1849 and 1855 were apparently unknown to him.

for instance, there had been a need for them in Russia, the printers of Warsaw and Wilno would have been quick to supply the demand, just as, in fact, they did in the eighties and the nineties, when the stream of Jewish migration from that country became comparatively large. The imprints of those known to us prove them, however, to have been intended primarily for German-Jewish emigrants.

The first Fürth edition of 1842 seems to confirm the opinion of Prof. Guido Kisch that "it is wrong to assume that the stream of German-Jewish immigration into America in the 19th century did not begin until 1848."⁶ No printer would have incurred the large expense involved in the issuing of this first edition for the needs of a scattered few. The demand must have been quite large and not unprofitable. After 1848, when German Jews emigrated in large masses, the miniature editions appeared at more frequent intervals and other

⁶ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 34, p. 25. Prof. Kisch advises me that miniature prayer books were much in use by Jewish soldiers, especially during war time. Each year, upon the administration of the military oath to the newly enlisted Jewish recruits his father, the late Rabbi Dr. Alexander Kisch, presented each of them with a miniature daily prayer book. Stimulus for the printing of such prayer books was given by this custom, which was practiced for forty-three years in Bohemia, and especially in Prague.

In the many different pocket editions of the prayer books printed in Prague, I find new prayers, specially composed for travelers on railroad and by sea. The railroad prayer was occasioned by the rise and spread of railroad travel in Central Europe during the middle of the last century. The sea prayer undoubtedly was meant for Jewish emigrants to America. Two such prayers were composed by Dr. Meïr Letteris (1800-1871) and published in תפלת יום יום Prague, 1864, and in many editions of the מנחה קטנה. In the 1890 edition of the latter the name of Letteris was omitted as author. Another prayer was penned by Dr. Saul I. Kaempf (1818-1892) and printed in תפלה עיון Prague, 1878, 1887. These prayers, by Letteris and Kaempf, are not recorded in Davidson's *Thesaurus of mediæval Hebrew poetry*.

editions, besides those of Fürth, became available, such as those at Hannover and Krotoschin, previously mentioned.

The phenomenon of these miniatures "American" prayer books in frequent editions, over a comparatively long period of time, testifies to one imponderable. The German Jews, in the middle of the last century, who set out to a new land of freedom, did so with Hebrew prayers on their lips, no less than with fervent hope in their hearts for better times and a brighter future.

AN EARLY ENGLISH INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF FOREIGN JEWRY.^a

BY HANS W. SPIEGEL, J. U. D.

During the 18th century, after the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna by Leopold I of Austria, in 1670, the nightmare of banishment spread to the Jewish communities of Bohemia and Moravia. Empress Maria Theresa was convinced that she was acting in the interests of religion when, in 1745, she ordered the expulsion of Jews who had been settled there in great numbers for a considerable time, on account of alleged conspiracies of the Rabbi of Prague with the French government. "Twenty thousand Israelites suddenly found themselves homeless, in the midst of a severe winter, half-naked, and with no resources except alms", writes Reinach.¹ In fact, there were more than twenty thousand. The imminent disaster, however, was averted. The order was repealed in substance, and there remained only that part which referred to the number of heads of Jewish families. The direct reason for the repeal of the expulsion order which affected thousands of Jews seems to be wrapped in mystery. According to Reinach's view, which is shared by many historians,² it was due to the intervention of Jews at Court of Vienna.

The truth, however, is that the measures were not carried out, not because of the intervention of the Viennese Jews but, thanks to other persons in high places. It was the intercession of the English and the Dutch governments at the

^a The author is deeply indebted to Mr. Frederick L. Honig, J.D. of the Middle Temple, London, for his valuable help in the compilation of this paper.

¹ Theodore Reinach, *Histoire des Israélites*, Paris, 1884, p. 258.

² H. C. Adams, *History of the Jews*, London, 1887, p. 327.

Court of Vienna in favor of the Jews of Bohemia, which finally, in 1749, led to the mitigation of these rigorous measures.³

A most interesting document of the intercession of the English sovereign has been preserved, and it well deserves to be brought to light, since it furnishes one of the earliest examples of intervention in international law, on behalf of a religious minority. It is an example of humanitarian intercession such as, e. g., that by President Theodore Roosevelt at the time of the massacres in Russia,⁴ or by Great Britain, the United States and other nations during the persecution of the Jews in Roumania.⁵ The document in question is directed

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Although there is an abundance of literature regarding intercession in general and humanitarian intercession in particular, our historical knowledge regarding intercession on behalf of Jews is scanty. Prof. Ellery C. Stowell in his "Intercession against the persecution of Jews," in *American journal of international law*, v. 30 (1936), pp. 102-106, occasioned by the report of James G. McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and others) coming from Germany, has given us a short but extremely instructive article, which contributes greatly to the history of intercession on behalf of Jews. Such a history still remains to be written. As regards the intercession on behalf of the Russian Jews, Prof. Stowell, on p. 105-106, writes: "In form it was an inquiry whether a petition in favor of the Jews would be received by the Russian government. Although the answer was negative, the consequent publicity had an equivalent effect of censuring Russia and bringing the influence of public opinion to bear against her. . ."

⁵ ". . . in order to seem to have a national interest as a basis for our action we referred to the inconvenient immigration of Jews to this country in consequence of persecutions to which they were subjected in Rumania. That may have been good diplomacy, but it obscured the true basis of the action—which was humanity."—Stowell, *ibid.*, p. 106.

The United States took similar action in 1840, during the Damascus affair. See Cyrus Adler, "Jews in the diplomatic correspondence of the United States" (*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 15).

to the Ambassador of Great Britain at the Court of Vienna, by the Secretary of State, Lord Harrington,⁶ and bears the date: 5th March, 1745. Previous to that letter, representations had already been made by Great Britain's ambassador. These, however, had only succeeded in postponing the date of the projected expulsion for a month.

The letter, originally written in French, is as follows:⁷ "Since it appears that the representations which you, Excellency, and M. de Burmania have had the duty to make on behalf of the Jews of the Kingdom of Bohemia and of the other hereditary states of Her Hungarian Majesty, have so far been unavailing, I am commanded by His Majesty to write this letter with a view to informing you that it is the wish of His Majesty that you continue to make the strongest representations on his behalf, in order to obtain the repeal of the terrible sentence which the Court of Vienna has pronounced over so many thousand innocent families.

"The King has taken the matter greatly to heart, and His Majesty asks the Queen of Hungary to be graciously pleased to accept his intercession on their (the Jews') behalf.

"His Majesty flatters himself that the Queen will condescend to grant his request all the more readily since it is unnecessary to remind her how she would act against her own interests if she persisted in such a severe resolution, which

⁶ The present Lord Harrington is not identical with the statesman of the same name [James Harrington] who in 1656, in his utopia "Oceana," had submitted a proposal to settle the Jews in Ireland, in order to spare the British Government the difficulties involved in ruling Ireland. See Adams, *supra*, p. 303, and A. M. Friedenberg, "Zionism in the 17th century," in *Jewish comment*, Baltimore, 1903, v. 17, Sept. 4, p. 7.

⁷ Reprinted in *Mercurie historique et politique*, La Haye, March 1745, tome 118, pp. 362-363 (a copy is in the New York Public Library). See also Johann J. Moser, *Versuch des neuesten europäischen Völkerrechts*, part vi, Frankfurt a.M., 1778, pp. 96-98. Moser also deals with the history of this event and its after-results.

would be regarded by the entire world as an ineffaceable blot doing injustice to the righteousness and clemency which this princess has shown since the beginning of her moderate and equitable reign.

I am etc.

[signed:] HARRINGTON".

Whitehall, March 5, 1745

How does it come about that, in those days, the British sovereign displayed such sympathy for the fate of Bohemian Jewry, a sympathy which did not even stop short of intervention in the internal affairs of a foreign State? The changing events in the history of Jews in England during that period offer a possible explanation. Progress and set-backs in the emancipation of English Jewry had followed one another. In 1718 the Attorney-General ruled that English-born Jews were capable of holding land; in 1722 the Great Synagogue was opened; but in 1732 there were anti-Jewish riots in London. In 1733 the Jews took part in the colonization of Georgia; in 1740 the colonial Jews were naturalized; but in 1744 a Jewish theological seminary was held by the courts to be a superstitious institution.⁸ The Whig government, on the whole, proved itself favorably disposed towards Jewry. The Naturalization Act of 1740 concerning the American settlers and in particular the Bill of 1753, designed to introduce a general naturalization of English Jews, show this trend very clearly in spite of the fact that they did not meet with success.

There was one man in particular who exercised considerable influence at the Court of George II. His name was Sampson Gideon,⁹ 1699-1762, and he "succeeded in raising himself

⁸ See the chronological chart in Albert M. Hyamson, *History of the Jews in England*, London, 1903, pp. 348-349.

⁹ See Hyamson, *supra*, pp. 269-279.

from very modest beginnings to the position of trusted adviser of the government and a member of the landed gentry of the country.”¹⁰ In 1745 when the intercession of the English sovereign took place, Gideon and London Jewry supported the government in every conceivable way, in their endeavor to resist the invading forces of Prince Charles Edward. After their victory the government felt indebted to Gideon and his fellow Jews. He was also the chief factor in the efforts to achieve emancipation. In 1754, when these efforts failed, this ambitious man resigned his membership in the synagogue. In his heart, however, he remained faithful to it throughout his life, a fact, which is made evident in his will. It is probably due to this man’s untiring efforts, and not, as might be imagined by the rather favorable attitude to the Jews on the part of the Whigs, that the King of England was moved to intervene on behalf of the Jews in Bohemia and thus to secure the repeal of Maria Theresa’s expulsion order.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 270

FRANCISCO RIVAS.

BY RABBI MARTIN ZIELONKA.¹

This is a preliminary study of Don Francisco Rivas Puigcerver who edited and published a Spanish Jewish periodical² at a time when there was no Jewish Congregation, no Jewish association of any kind, nor any form of Jewish group activity. He told me that the periodical was published and distributed to Ladino speaking Jews of eastern Europe and parts of Asia to encourage them to migrate to Mexico—though no hint of such an objective is to be found in its pages. Though the historicity and the philology of a great deal of Rivas' assertions are open to question I give them here, nevertheless, largely in his own words. They are worthy of being recorded and I venture the belief that the readers of this paper will think likewise and find them not without a peculiar kind of American Jewish historical interest.

In his *El Sabado* (ano 1, Num. 2, April 27, 1889) there is an article by him, entitled *Los Jovhelim* (יואלים), which, translated, is as follows:

"We were born in the city of Campeche, peninsula of Yucatan, in the year 1850. Our parents, who also saw the light of day there, were descended from Spanish monotheists called—so our good mother told us—"Yo-elim," because they worshipped Jehovah Elohim, creator of the universe. These Yohelim lived in a certain part of Spain (*Sefard*) from time immemorial and treated all men as brothers, without regard to nationality. They were ignored by the Jews, did not participate in their laws or cult, though both kept the Sabbath and both began their history with Adam, from *Adamah* (אדמה),

¹ Rabbi Zielonka died Jan. 2, 1938. This paper is here printed without the benefit of his correction or revision.

² See my "A Spanish-American Jewish periodical" in *Publications of American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 23, pp. 129-135.

forming with *Havah* (Eve) the first human couple. For them Adam was derived from *Damah* (דמה), since God said '*Naaseh Adam b'zalmenu kidmusemu*'³ and signified thereby Humanity (*Zochor unkwah boro osom*⁴). The Yohelim possessed no other *Sepher* (book) than the 'Book of Creation', from *Be-reshith boro*⁵ to *B'yom asos Adonai Elohim Erez v'shomayim*.⁶ In that writing was contained their entire religion. They believed in the immortality of *Zelem* (צלם) and *De'mus* (דמות), because both were from Elohim, and they observed the sound precepts of hygiene. Their morals were pure, and all observed the maxim of doing good to all, irrespective of race. Their kindness extended to the animals of the field.

"To love Jehovah Elohim together with *Melochto* [?] and every man as themselves was their constant practice, even unto death. Relying on *Vay-vo-rech osom Elohim, Vayomer lohem Elohim*,⁷ they asserted that the Eternal revealed this cosmogony to mankind, whom He had just created. This book which the Yohelim kept separate from the Torah and enclosed it with a large **ד**, initial of *Sepher*, contained exactly 1867 letters. The sum of these numbers contain the 22 characters of the sacred language, later called Hebrew. No language shows the preciseness of ours. Multiplying the alphabet by itself, that is 22 by 22, and the product 484 by 22, we have 10,648 letters, the number of tri-literal roots. If we combine these roots with the 11 usable letters, how great can the infinite variety of our voices be. We are the fortunate possessor of the *Sepher Shoroshim*, a heritage from my father.

"When the intolerance of the Catholic kings drove the Jews from Spain, the Yohelim withdrew unto themselves and hid themselves more and more. As time went on, almost all their families were treated as Jews. Because they kept the Sabbath religiously they fell into the hands of the Inquisition and perished in the flames or in the dungeons of the Holy Office. A collection of Autos-da-Fe, which we have saved very carefully, provides us with the most precious data concerning those Jewish Spaniards during the past century. From some of these families who succeeded in coming to America there have descended the few of us, Yohelim, who live in this country.

³ נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו. Gen. I: 26.

⁴ זכר ונקבה ברא אתם Gen. I: 27.

⁵ בראשית ברא Gen. I: 1.

⁶ ביום עשות יהוה אלהים ארץ ושמים Gen. II: 4.

⁷ ויברך אתם אלהים ויאמר להם אלהים Gen. I: 28.

We treat the Sephardim as brothers, because both of us adore the Sole Creator of the Universe and because the one as well as the other were Spaniards."

This article intrigued me greatly, but presented many questions. Who were the Yohelim he speaks of? Why did they use this peculiar name? I surmise that they were a sect of Maranos who lived secretly in Spain and in Spanish America and were later absorbed into the general population, or, like Rivas, eventually confessed openly their Jewishness. In answer to my request for further biographic details about himself, he wrote me, under date of August 9, 1908:

"My dear and Honorable Rabbi: On the day following my visit to you, an urgent affair called me away from the capital for a few days. Upon my return I was very sorry to hear the news of your departure. I hope that on your return we shall have sufficient time to talk of interesting matters.

"I have had the pleasure of meeting the distinguished Rabbi H. Cohen⁸ and his splendid family. He was at my house the day before yesterday to see some of the many old books that I have relating to Jewry.

"I dislike to write my own biography. However, when I have time I will give you the main events of my life. Suffice it for the present to say that on my father's side I am Rivas Abravalla and on my mother's side, Puigcerver Colonimo y Gurario. The first (Rivas) is from the Hebrew nobility of Tauste. The second (Abravalla) is from the Arabianization of אב רבן אל Av-rabban-el, 'Father, Master, Divine.' So were called the ancestors of the most illustrious Don יצחק (Isaac).⁹ The third (Puigcerver) signifies in the lemosina (?) language the same as 'Hirschberg' in German, that is הר אייל, stag mountain. The fourth (Colonimo) in Greek is Kolonymos, one of my ancestors who was a rabbi in Narbonne¹⁰ about the year 1170 and

⁸ Rabbi Henry Cohen, of Galveston, Texas.

⁹ Don Isaac Abravanel, 1437-1508, of the illustrious Spanish family of that name, which traced its descent from King David. The traditional portrait of him, given in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v. 1, p. 127, actually resembles Rivas, as I remember him.

¹⁰ Town in the department of Aude, France, chief center of Jewish learning in the 12th century. The Kalonymos family produced many

is the equivalent of שם טוב. The fifth name (Gurario), which was a source of great pride to my saintly mother, is derived from the two grandsons of יהודה (Judah), a brother of ישוע בן יוסף (Jeshua ben Joseph), who escaped from the clutches of the Emperor Domiciano and fled to ספרד (Sefard), the ancient name of Spain. Gurario in Syrian is "Cub of a lion"; in Hebrew גור אריה, later changed to Payan (Paganus) because of fear of the fires of the Inquisition. My father and mother were related and their ancestors escaped from the slaughter of the Jews, hiding themselves for a long time in an inaccessible place called Bujaraiza, unknown even in Spain itself, until the beginning of the last century.

"My grandfather came to America loaded with riches which were taken away from him at his death, when it became known to what race he belonged, leaving my father unprotected in his childhood. But here I will stop, in order not to write my biography.

"But, to satisfy you in some of your wishes, I am sending you a clipping of 'The Hebrew Standard' New York, Kislev 6, 5653¹² that has some information regarding my humble self. In the same paper you will see the reproduction of a picture that represents the discovery of the island Guanahani, Friday, October 12, 1492, from the crow's nest of the boat *Pinta*, by two sailors יהוחנן¹³ called יאנסים (John, Roi of Triana) the Spaniard and חניאל (Haniel) the Portuguese. Of this Roi- which may be the Hebrew ראה (seer); in Gypsy Roi means 'flour' as well as 'red'. Of this, some have made Rodrigo, as well as Juan Rodrigo, and others even Juan Bermejo.

scholars in that town, particularly Kalonymos the Great and Kalonymos ben Todros. See *Jewish Encyclopedia* under *Narbonne* and under *Kalonymos*.

¹² Yeshuah ben Joseph Ha-Levi, Algerian Talmudist of the 15th century, born at Tlemcen. He fled in 1467 from the massacres there and arrived in Toledo about 1469. See *ibid.*, v. 12, p. 600.

¹³ *Hebrew Standard*, v. 26, no. 10, Nov. 29, 1892, contains a free translation by Rivas of a paper contributed by him in the *Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana*, época 4, tomo 2, No. 4 (1891). With it are a biographic sketch and portrait of Rivas, as well as a statement about Mexico by President Porfirio Diaz. [The clipping is in the possession of our Society now, but the periodical itself for 1892 and earlier is not to be had in any New York library.]

¹⁴ יאנסים = Maranos.

"Luis de Torres, the Jewish interpreter, who accompanied Columbus, is the man who gave the name *והנה-הן-א' (Guanahani)* to the first land discovered in the New World. When you were here I told you that the ancestors of the Admiral were *Greci* in Italian and, in order to change it to *Columbi*, they made use of the Hebrew tongue, by changing the vowels *והנה-הן-א'* into *וינה-הן-א'*."

Sincerely yours, F. RIVAS."

Since this letter mentions "Guanahani" again, it is proper to bring here the Rivas translation of his paper in the *Boletin de la Sociedad de Geografia*. It is entitled:

THE JEWS AND THE NEW WORLD.

"Towards the end of the 15th century, three fragile ships with their prows pointed in the direction of the Occident, were crossing the immensity of the solitary ocean, in search of a new route to the East Indies. It was the fleet of the illustrious Genoese navigator, who by means of the decisive intervention and opportune financial assistance of the Hebrew, Luis de Santangel, and with the consent of the Catholic rulers, set sail from Palos, the little port of Huelva. No priest accompanied the expedition. Christians, Moors and Jews made up the crews of the wooden *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta* and the *Niña*. With confidence in the secret data in his possession, Colon undertook the adventurous enterprise with great courage. Even greater, however, was the courage of those who accompanied him without the knowledge of such data. There followed long-drawn out days, one after another, and vigilant eyes saw only sky and water and the unlimited horizon around their swift sailing vessels. Hope followed hope; illusion after illusion unceasingly harrassed the anxious travellers. The royal munificence had solemnly promised a pension of thirty escudos to him who would first discover the dreamt-of land. Because of this the mariners sought it in the distance and, oftentimes deceived, announced it. In order to terminate these false alarms, which were vexing to him, the Admiral gave an order that, in the future, whosoever gave such false notice would lose the right of the promised award.

"Through unknown seas the ships followed their course until one fortnight after midnight, aboard the *Pinta* and on the quarter-deck of the prow, a converted sailor who was on the watch, as if afraid to risk it, exclaimed in Hebrew *א' א' (Land! Land!)*. Another sailor of the same race, who was at his side, asked him in the same language *והנה (Weana, in what direction?)*. *א' הן Hen-i (There is*

the land!) responded Rodrigo de Triana. *וְאָנֹכָה הֵן אֵי* (*Weana hen-i*, over there there is land!) affirmed his companion with profound conviction. Land! Land! again cried Rodrigo de Triana. A cannon shot from the *Pinta* announced to all the happy discovery. *Halleluyah* exclaimed the Jews; *Alhamdo lil-alah* uttered the Moors; *Alabado sea Dios* repeated the Christians. It was then two in the morning. At a distance of two leagues, the coast is now clearly delineated. The sails are shortened, the boats lie to and await with impatience the dawn. At last comes break of day and, for the first time, on Friday, October the 12th 1492, absorbed in thought, Colon contemplates that which was unknown to him, a New World. He treads the hospitable shore, believing that he has landed on an island off the coast of India. According to Luis de Torres, the Jewish interpreter, the natives called it *Guanahani*. The Admiral preferred to call it *San Salvador*. Salvation will be republican America to Israel, persecuted in autocratic Europe.

"On the return to Spain, the promised pension of 30 escudos decreed by Isabel de Castilla and Fernando de Aragon, were unjustly awarded to Colon. Rodrigo de Triana, the converted sailor, whose voice on that voyage was the first to cry Land! Land!, realizing that royal ingratitude wrongfully wrested from him the promised and well-merited premium, renounced his new religion and country and crossed over to Africa. There he related to the Hebrews this trustworthy story. Thus, *Guanahani*, i. e. *Weana hen-i*, will always remain as testimony to the influence exercised by the Jews to the very extreme ends of the universe.

"When Spain, with unusual pomp, celebrated recently the Columbus quadro-centennial, the Czar of Russia, goaded by the fanaticism of Greek Orthodoxy, was expelling, between lines of savage Cossacks, the last defenseless Jew. But blessed America, in remembrance of Rodrigo de Triana, scion of the heroic, proscribed race, has opened its doors wide to welcome and protect our outlawed people."

There remains now but to give the few additional facts known to me of this strange man's life. Rivas was born, as he states, in Campeche, Yucatan, in 1850. At an early age he was sent to New York to study. Just what schools he attended I was not able to ascertain, but he was a master of languages. In his letters to me, written in Spanish, he quotes Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Greek and Latin. He also spoke German and English. On his return to Mexico a Revolution

broke out against President Lerdo (1825-1889, president 1872). "Being a hot headed young rebel, like a true Jew," as he himself said, he joined the army and captured a fort by surprise attack at midday, when the same was not expected till midnight. He married a Cuban, Maria, also descended from Spanish Jews. She died two years before him after a married life of over forty years.

He taught Greek and French in the National Normal School and at the University of Mexico. He was fond of saying: "Half of Mexico was taught by a Jew and they don't know it." He knew intimately most of the leaders in Mexican life and was highly honored by them. He was called by them "El Maestro," and affectionately "Papa Rivas." He owned a splendid library of books pertaining to Jewish subjects, in Hebrew, Latin, Ladino, Arabic and Greek, and many manuscripts of the Mexican Inquisition. He told me that his library would be willed to the projected Hebrew University in Jerusalem, but at his death it was left to two faithful servants. What became of it I do not know.

In 1905 an effort was made to organize a Jewish congregation in Mexico City. He was elected President, but there was no gathering after the first organization meeting, because some doubted whether he really was a Jew. He died in Mexico City on October 17, 1924, and was buried in the general cemetery.

Don Francisco Rivas Abravalla Puigcerver Colonimo y Gurario, the last romantic survivor of secret Jews who gloried in a tradition that dated back to the twelfth century, was the last of his line. He left no children.

JEWISH PROTOTYPES IN AMERICAN
AND ENGLISH ROMANS AND
DRAMES À CLEF.

BY EDWARD D. COLEMAN, A. B.

Belletristic works in which the delineation of a character, supposedly fictitious and given a fictitious name, is based upon an historical person, living or dead, are called *romans*, *dramas* or *poèmes à clef*, depending upon whether the work in question is a novel, drama or poem. To say that Pope's *Dunciad*, or Tennyson's *In memoriam*, is a *poème à clef* is an illustration which every one will understand. In the present paper an initial attempt is made to list such works "with a key" in the English language, both originals and in translation, in which the prototypes are Jews. It is hoped that the subject of the present effort is not without some historical significance (note that the first work here listed dates back to 1634). The arrangement is chronological; the publication date of the volume is given first, followed by the author's name and the title. In the case of six plays, under the dates of 1695, 1718, 1776, 1780, 1788, and 1795, the prototypes are not among the *Dramatis Personae*; they are merely mentioned in the text of the play by fictitious names by one of the speakers. We have included them because they are early examples, and essentially a part, of the subject which is here treated.¹

¹ Earle F. Walbridge, former librarian of the Harvard Club of New York City, has made the study of the subject of historical persons who served as models for characters in fiction or drama preeminently, and almost exclusively, his own. His published works in this field, so far as I know them, are as follows: *Romans à clef; a list of novels in which real persons appear as characters*, in New York Public Library, *Branch library book news*, 1924, v. 1, no. 4, p. 51-56; *Romans à clef with additions*, *ibid.*, 1926, v. 3, no. 9, p. 99-108; *Romans à*

The surest evidence that a certain historical person is character so-and-so in the book is to get the author to admit it. That is seldom to be had. Such other evidence as it was possible to obtain in the circumstances has been cited. When no citation is made the writer begs to be judged by the probability or likelihood of the ascription. If he is wrong he asks to be corrected. He will further be grateful to hear from any reader who may know of others.

1634. Ford, John. *Perkin Warbeck*.²

In act V, scene 3, Simnel says to Warbeck:

Your pedigree is publish'd; you are known
For Osbeck's son of Tournay, a loose runagate,
A landloper; your father was a Jew
Turn'd Christian merely to repair his miseries.

The identification of Perkin Osbeck (or Warbeck) with a converted Jew is to be found in Francis Bacon's *Works*.³ "Thus therefore it came to pass: there was a townsman of Tournay, that had borne office in that town, whose name was John Osbeck, a convert Jew, married to Catherine de Faro."

clef, in *Publishers' weekly*, 1925-1933, v. 107, p. 435-440; v. 114, p. 539-544; v. 123, p. 766-771; *Drames à clef* in *Theatre arts monthly*, New York, 1927, v. 11, p. 218-234; *Do novelists use real people?* in *Golden book magazine*, New York, 1928, v. 7, p. 765-775; *Romans à clef* in *Author's annual*, 1929, New York [1929], p. 118-163; *Footnotes to romans à clef* in *Saturday review of literature*, 1935, June 22, p. 12; July 13, p. 10; Aug. 10, p. 10; and *Literary characters drawn from life*, New York, 1936, 192 p.

I am indebted to him for much of the information given in this paper. The phrase "Walbridge, *supra*" in the accompanying notes means that the ascription given is taken from one of his lists cited above. I have also learned a great deal from Charles H. Crane, *Real people in fiction*, in *South African magazine*, 1906, v. 1, p. 51-85, 242-263, 377-398, a pioneer work in this field.

² See his: *Works*, ed. Wm. Gifford, London, 1869, v. 2, p. 209.

³ ed. B. Montagu, London, 1825-34, v. 3, p. 277. See also H. Michelson, *The Jew in early English literature*, Amsterdam, 1926, p. 95.

1695. Congreve, William. *Love for love*.⁴

Produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields, April 30, 1695. In act II, scene 1, Foresight says to Sir Sampson Legend: "Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude." The reference here is to Pinto's *Historia oriental de las Peregrinaciones*, 1614. The traveling adventures of F. M. Pinto, a Portuguese Marano, ca. 1509-1583, were not given much credence in his day. "Yet, recent investigation has corroborated much that Pinto wrote in his romance of adventure."⁵

1718. Cibber, Colley. *The non-juror*.

Produced at the Drury Lane, London, Dec. 6, 1717. It was written in favor of the Hanoverian succession and against James, the Pretender. In act II, scene 1, Doctor Wolf, one of the characters, says: "let them [the letters] be sealed without a direction, and give them to Aaron Sham the Jew, when he calls for them." D. H. Miles⁶ quotes two contemporary pamphlets which identify Aaron Sham as Francia the Jew, and a third pamphlet which dissents from that view. The Francia meant is Francis Francia,⁷ member of a distinguished Jewish family which settled in London during the 17th century. Francis was arraigned for treason on June 14, 1716, as having given aid to the Pretender, and was acquitted on Jan. 22, 1717.

1749. *The Jerusalem infirmary; or, A journey to the valley of Jehosaphat*.

The *Dramatis Personae* of this anonymous farce are the

⁴ In his: *Works*, ed. F. W. Bateson, London [1930], p. 212.

⁵ Louis Herrman, *History of the Jews in South Africa*, London, 1930, p. 31.

⁶ In his *The political satire The non-juror in Modern philology*, Chicago, 1915, v. 13, p. 231-304.

⁷ See the article *Francia* in the *Jewish encyclopedia*, and the bibliography given there.

same as in a print which appeared that year and was intended to lampoon the management of a *Bikur Holim* (hospital) conducted by the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London. D. E. Baker⁸ describes it as "a piece of the most unintelligible, and at the same time abusive, jargon ever seen and is written with a view to expose and calumniate a number of private personal characters among the Jews . . . Never was, nor ever is, intended to be acted." Alfred Rubens, who includes this print⁹ in his *Anglo-Jewish portraits*,¹⁰ gives a historical sketch of the circumstances which in 1749 evoked this pasquil and identifies the prototypes of *all* the characters. They are mostly the leaders of the Bevis Marks synagogue of that time, among whom Isaac Nieto, 1702-1774, *Haham* of Bevis Marks, and Jacob de Castro Sarmiento, 1692-1762, noted physician, may be mentioned here. Many have written about this farce but none, with the possible exception of Baker, ever saw the text of it, a unique copy of which is owned by the Henry E. Huntington Library (a photostat copy is in the writer's collection). H. R. S. van der Veen,¹¹ with the print in front of him, reconstructed fairly accurately the plot and dialogue of the play.

1770. Chatterton, Thomas. *The apostate*.

Only a fragment of this drama by the youthful Chatterton has been preserved. J. H. Ingram¹² states that the theme was the conversion of a Jew to Christianity. Meyerstein¹³ de-

⁸ In his *Biographia dramatica*, London, 1812, v. 2, p. 344.

⁹ See British Museum, *Catalogue of prints and drawings Division 1, Political and personal satires*, v. 3, part 1, p. 791-793 (no. 3106).

¹⁰ London, 1935, p. 119-124.

¹¹ In his *Jewish characters in eighteenth century English fiction and drama*, Groningen, 1935, p. 123-132.

¹² *The true Chatterton*, London, 1910, p. 124-125.

¹³ E. H. W. Meyerstein, *A life of Thomas Chatterton*, London, 1910, p. 421 n.

scribes it as "an elegy or soliloquy of a man in his cell addressed to a crucifix." It is said to be based on an account of a converted Jew, Joachim Engelberger, who, having been condemned to die, repented of his conversion and publicly renounced the Christian religion, "having always remained a Jew in his heart."

1773. Lindsey, Theophilus. *The Polish partition, illustrated*.^{12a}

Among the interlocutors are the rulers of Europe who shared in the first, 1772, partition of Poland and the Baron of Joppa, who is commissioned by the King of Prussia to melt down the coin and distribute it in Poland. The prototype of Baron Joppa is Veitel-Heine Ephraim, mintmaster (Münz-jude) under Frederick William I and Frederick the Great, and business partner in the firm of Ephraim, Itzig & Co., *Hofbankieren*. Ephraim died in 1775. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V:192-193. Ephraim is described towards the end of the first dialogue as "an admirable hand towards circumcising difficulties and ducats." He is represented as a mere tool for the purposes of the cynical and unscrupulous King of Prussia. The universal condemnation of the partition of Poland probably accounts for the translation of this piece in almost all the European languages.^{12b}

1776. *The battle of Brooklyn*.

Printed by the Tory printer Rivington. I could find no record of its production. This piece is sometimes ascribed to

^{12a} The full title of the original is: *The Polish partition, illustrated; in seven dramattick dialogues, or, Conversation pieces, between remarkable personages, published from the mouths and actions of the interlocutors*. By Gottlieb Panzmouzer [pseud.] the baron's nephew . . . London: P. Elmsly [1773]. 2 p. l., 89 p. It was reviewed in *Critical review*, London, 1774, v. 37, p. 236; *Gentleman's magazine*, 1774, v. 44, p. 269-270; and in *Monthly review*, 1774, v. 50, p. 233.

^{12b} For a full bibliographical account of this work, see K. J. T. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, tom 21, p. 288-290.

the Tory Jonathan Sewall, 1728-1796. Prof. A. H. Quinn¹⁴ characterizes it as "clever at times, but extremely scurrilous." Act II finds the four American generals, Washington, Putnam, Sullivan and William Alexander present. Putnam is addressing Alexander: "you know the road to Bedford, a little on this side the house that the bandy legged Jew lived in; well, d'ye see, there is on each side the road, a stonewall, near three feet high; beyond that on each side are clear fields . . ." Whether "the bandy legged Jew" refers to an historical person the writer has not been able to determine. The Kings County Census of 1790, which was consulted, was of no help in answering the question. Nor was the Long Island Historical Society able to help.

1779. Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim. *Nathan the wise*.

Moses Mendelssohn, friend and intimate of Lessing, was the inspiration for, if not the direct model of, Nathan, in this classic. "We incline to the supposition that Mendelssohn himself served as the prototype of Lessing's hero for various reasons, because of the magnanimous generosity, with which the character of Nathan is invested, because of the surname 'wise' which is conferred upon him, and because of his proficiency in chess-playing, all of which characteristics accord with those of Mendelssohn."^{14a} The first English translator of "Nathan der Weise" was Rudolph E. Raspe, whom Walter Scott mercilessly caricatured as Dousterswivel in his novel "The antiquary," and who is better known as the author of "Baron Münchhausen." Raspe, in his Preface,^{14b} states that the purpose of the translation was not stage representation but to serve as an antidote against the rancor of religious bigotry.

¹⁴ In his *A history of the American drama from the beginning to the Civil War*, New York, 1923, p. 57-58.

^{14a} *Jewish chronicle*, London, Dec. 27, 1878, p. 3.

^{14b} *Nathan the wise*; a philosophical drama . . . London: J. Fielding, 1781.

The second English translator, William Taylor, similarly stated: "This translation . . . was undertaken in March 1790, when questions of toleration were much afloat."¹⁴⁶

1780. Cowley, Mrs. Hannah P. *The belle's stratagem*.^{*}

It was produced at the Covent Garden, London, Feb. 22, 1780. Hardy, father of the belle, acted by Quick, who had played the part of Isaac Mendoza in Sheridan's *The duenna*, at the same theatre on November 21, 1775, disguises himself as Mendoza, at a masquerade ball, in act IV, scene 1, of this very popular play by Mrs. Cowley. Thus disguised he is addressed by another masquerader:

Mask.: Why, thou testy little Israelite! back to Duke's Place . . .
Where are your Joshuas and your Gideons, aye? What! all dwindled into Stockbrokers, Pedlars, and Rag-men?

Hardy: No, not at all. Some of us turn Christians, and by degrees grow into all the privileges of Englishmen! In the second generation we are Patriots, Rebels, Courtiers, and Husbands.¹⁴⁷

Landa¹⁴⁸ states that the remarks refer to Sampson Gideon, 1699-1762, eminent English financier. These insulting remarks were omitted in later printings of the play, by T. H. Lacy in London, and Augustin Daly in his New York, 1892, revival.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Nathan the wise; a dramatic poem . . . Norwich [Eng.] Printed by Stevenson and Matchett in 1791 and published in 1805 by R. Philips. London, 1805.

^{*} *The belle's stratagem*; a comedy. London: T. Cadell, 1782. 2 p. l., 84 p. 8°.

¹⁴⁷ See L. M. Friedman, "Rowland Gideon, an early Boston Jew, and his family," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 35. The inclusion of the name Gideon in the masquerader's lines lends further plausibility to Landa's ascription. It must be admitted, from a reading of Friedman's paper and the known facts about Gideon's career, that the dramatist hit it off rather accurately.

¹⁴⁸ *The Jew in drama*, London, 1926, p. 122.

¹⁴⁹ See Edward D. Coleman, "The Jew in English drama," in *New York Public Library, Bulletin*, 1938, v. 42, p. 920-921.

1788. Cowley, Hannah P. *The fate of Sparta; or, The rival kings.*

In the prologue of this play, produced at the Drury Lane, Jan. 31, 1788, appear the following lines:

Spartans—liv'd like other folks;
 Turn'd fiddlers, brokers, merchants, gamed and betted,
 This boasting what he won—this what he netted.
 Ladies their Op'ra—Boxers had their stage.
 And Spartan Humphries' soon became the rage;
 Their placemen sinecures could ne'er refuse,
 And zeal-infested Lords, at times turn'd Jews.

This is a reference to Richard Humphries, the boxing champion of England, who defeated Daniel Mendoza, at Odiham, Hampshire, on Jan. 9, 1788. Mendoza, nicknamed "the Spanish Jew" or "Star of Israel" met Humphries again in 1789 and 1790, defeated him both times, and thereby became the first Jewish pugilistic champion.¹⁵

1794. Cumberland, Richard. *The Jew.*^{15a}

Numerous suggestions have been made for a possible prototype of Sheva, "the kindly Jew," in this first, full-length, pro-Jewish, English play, which was first produced at the Drury Lane, May 9, 1794, and was seen in this country the same year. Louis I. Newman^{15b} advanced the name of Abraham Goldsmid, 1756?-1810, English financier and philanthropist. Landa^{15c} suggested Baron Ephraim Lopez Pereira d'Aguilar, 1739-1802, whom Sheva resembled in one of his odd traits.

¹⁵ See E. D. Coleman, *The Jew in English drama*, in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Nov. 1938, v. 42, p. 835.

^{15a} For a bibliography of this play and the writings about it, see E. D. Coleman, *The Jew in English drama*, *supra*, v. 42, p. 832-833, 922-924. For its stage history in this country, see his *Plays of Jewish interest on the American stage, 1752-1821*, in *Publications*, *supra*, no. 33, p. 182-184.

^{15b} In his *Richard Cumberland, critic and friend of the Jews*, New York, 1919, p. 46-50.

^{15c} *Supra*, p. 138.

It is more probable that the prototypes, if any are to be established, are literary rather than historical. The biographer of Jack Bannister,^{15a} who first acted the part of Sheva, gives Joshua Manaseh in Tobias Smollett's *The adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753) as the character which served as a model for Sheva. Landa, *ibid.*, inclines to the same opinion. H. R. S. van der Veen,^{15b} without denying the possible influence of Smollett, gives a further possible source,—Christian F. Gellert's *The life of the Swedish countess de G****, a German novel containing a kindly Polish Jew, which appeared in 1746, was translated into English in 1752 and 1776, into French in 1754, Dutch 1760 and 1774, and into other languages.

1795. Jerningham, Edward. *The Welch heiress*.

Produced at the Drury Lane, April 17, 1795. In act V, Miss Plinlimmon speaks: "I an idiot! Did he dare to call me an idiot? . . . I an idiot with whom Miss Bluehose corresponds? . . . I an idiot, who am acquainted with Mr. Omega, the famous Jew botanist, and have feasted at his house upon his Hebrew roots?" The reference to Mr. Omega is probably to the famous Emanuel Mendes da Costa (1717-1791), fellow and librarian of the Royal Society of London, book collector, antiquarian, and distinguished botanist.¹⁶

1820. Scott, Sir Walter. *Ivanhoe*.

The oft-repeated and immortal story has it that Washington Irving, an acquaintance, through a mutual friend, of the beautiful Rebecca Gratz (1781-1869) narrated to Sir Walter the romantic story of the lovely and philanthropic Philadelphia Jewess, that Scott had her in mind when portraying

^{15a} John Adolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister, comedian*, London, 1839, v. 1, p. 342.

^{15b} *Supra*, p. 235-236.

¹⁶ See *Jewish encyclopedia*, IV: 291, and E. N. Adler, *London*, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 129-130.

Rebecca in his *Ivanhoe*, and that, upon the appearance of the romance, he sent Irving a copy of it with a letter which stated: "How do you like your Rebecca? Does the Rebecca I have pictured compare well with the pattern given?" The story of the identity of the two Rebeccas has been accepted in the Gratz family even during Rebecca Gratz's lifetime. Joseph Jacobs and R. G. Osterweis record, without giving corroborative evidence, stories purporting to show that Rebecca Gratz herself admitted the identity. Osterweis' story is as follows: "As they [prominent non-Jewish women who visited the Mickveh Israel Synagogue at Philadelphia] were descending from the women's gallery, one of the strangers asked: 'Is it true, Miss Gratz, that you are the Rebecca of *Ivanhoe*?' Their stately companion smiled quietly: 'They say so, my dear'." Sara Ann Mordecai, a niece of Rebecca, prepared on Feb. 24, 1870, a biographic sketch which was privately printed in 1893, under the title "Recollections of my aunt . . . by one of her nieces." After telling the usual story, she adds: "truly he could not have chosen a nobler type of Jewish maiden than she was."

Much has been written about this ascription.¹⁷ The hope has been expressed that the so-called letter of Scott to Irving

¹⁷The first printed account known to me appeared in *Jewish chronicle*, London, Sept. 22, 1876, p. 390, which copied it from an American paper, unknown to me, from the pen, apparently, of a Miss Grundy. It was repeated in the Philadelphia *Jewish record*, April 6, 1877. The article, by Gratz Van Rensselaer, in the *Century magazine*, 1882, v. 24, p. 679-682, gave it its greatest currency. Wm. S. Crockett accepted it in his *The Scott originals*, New York, 1912, p. 286-295; Roland Abramczyk, in his "Über die Quellen zu Walter Scotts 'Ivanhoe,'" Halle a S., 1903, p. 90-92, 144-156, gives literary rather than personal sources and does not mention Rebecca Gratz; the same view is shared by Israel Abrahams in his "The original of Scott's Rebecca" in *Times literary supplement*, London, 1920, v. 19, p. 9; M. J. Landa in the *Jewish guardian*, Dec. 2, 1921, p. 8, repeats

might some day show up and be made public. Recently the *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by H. J. C. Grierson, London, 1932-37, in 12 volumes, covering the years 1787-1832, have been published. No such letter appears there. Prof. Stanley Williams, in his *The life of Washington Irving*,¹⁸ basing his opinion on the material supplied him by R. G. Osterweis and, of course, his learned knowledge of Irving, writes: "the story . . . is apparently true, though no word of either Irving or Scott exists to confirm it finally."¹⁹ Further on he writes: "Although there exists evidence to support the theory [of the identity] I am not convinced that a conversation occurred concerning Rebecca Gratz, at least at this time [Aug. 1817]. Such a discussion, may, of course, have taken place at a later meeting of Scott and Irving."²⁰ Upon this note we depart from our tantalizing story.

1826/27. Beaconsfield, Benjamin Disraeli. *Vivian Grey*.

Most of Disraeli's novels and romances are veritable *romans à clef*. The various characters have been identified by many

the identification but takes no positive stand; the most authoritative discussion of this subject is to be found in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 22, p. 53-60, by Joseph Jacobs who, with his usual clarity, stated the case in a way which will stand unexcelled for a long time; and John Sartain, who knew Rebecca Gratz, in his *Reminiscences of a very old man*, New York, 1899, p. 183-190, gives further interesting details. See also *American notes and queries*, 1888, v. 1, p. 152; *Jewish chronicle*, London, Sept. 30, 1892, p. 14 and July 14, 1893, p. 9; *Letters of Rebecca Gratz*, ed. by David Philipson, 1929, p. 29, 32; Joseph Jacobs in *American Hebrew*, 1913, v. 92, p. 433-434; Eugenie F. Gluckert in *Jewish tribune*, New York, April 19, 1929, p. 10, 48; Mary M. Cohen, *An old Philadelphia cemetery*, 1906, p. 76-81, who gives further substantiating details; H. F. Barnes, *Charles Fenno Hoffman*, New York, 1930, p. 55-56, note 15; and Rollin G. Osterweis, *Rebecca Gratz; a study in charm*, New York, 1935, p. 149-153.

¹⁸ New York, 1935, 2 v.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 403.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 423.

students,²¹ including Monypenny and Buckle in their definitive *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*. Henry Colburn, the publisher of Disraeli's first novel, *Vivian Grey*, advertised it as containing "portraits of living characters, sufficient to constitute a National Gallery."²² Vivian Grey is Disraeli himself. Mr. Sherborne is his father, Isaac Disraeli. Walbridge, however, basing his identification on Monypenny and Buckle, states that Isaac Disraeli is personified by Horace Grey, which is more likely.

About *Venetia*, 1837, Wollman²³ states that Carducis is the character who "has the greatest rapport with Disraeli himself." By most other authorities Carducis has been taken to mean Lord Byron.

Sidonia, in *Coningsby; or, The new generation*, 1844, is modelled on baron Alfred de Rothschild of Naples (or upon the author himself). Baroness S. de R—d is evidently baroness S. de Rothschild. Coningsby meets Sidonia as a stranger in a forest and Sidonia teaches him to look for the future of England in her national character. This is the message of the novel.²⁴

In *Coningsby* and particularly in *Tancred; or, The new crusade*, 1847, Beaconsfield expressed his thoughts on the influence of the Jews on European thought and on the relations

²¹ See Henry P. Mendes, *The Earl of Beaconsfield, K. G., keys to the famous characters delineated in his historical romances . . . and miscellaneous addenda by Robert Arnot* [who supplies a brief analysis of each novel], London [etc., cop. 1904]. See also Frederick K. Otto, *Autobiographisches aus Disraeli's Jugendromanen*, Coburg, 1913, 113 p.; and Rowland Grey, *Disraeli in fancy street*, in *Cornhill magazine*, London, 1929, v. 66, p. 102-110.

²² Walbridge, *supra*.

²³ Maurice Wollman, *The early autobiographical novels of Benjamin Disraeli*, in *Jewish chronicle*, London, Feb., March and April 1925, supplements 50, 51 and 52.

²⁴ See David Philipson, *Coningsby and Tancred*, in his *The Jew in English fiction*, Cincinnati, 1889, p. 103-121; and Myer S. Isaacs, *Sidonia*, in his *The old guard and other addresses*, New York, 1906, p. 39-61.

of Judaism to Christianity. This "last of the Sephardim" was most lavish in his praise of his race and no finer textbook of Jewish apologetics need be looked for anywhere. The exponent of these ideas is Sidonia, a mysterious figure, descended from a Marano family. The Sidonia of the present novel is baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, 1806-1879, and Tancred, Lord Montacute, is the author himself.

The Neuchatels in *Endymion*, 1880, are the Rothschilds and Endymion is again Disraeli himself.²⁵

1835. Wordsworth, William. *A Jewish family*.^{25a}

This six-stanza poem has its basis in fact. Wordsworth recorded later: "Coleridge, my daughter and I, in 1828, passed a fortnight upon the banks of the Rhine . . . It was at St. Goer that I saw the Jewish family here described. Though exceedingly poor and in rags, they were not less beautiful than I have endeavoured to make them appear. We had taken a little dinner with us in a basket, and invited them to partake of it, which the mother refused to do, both for herself and her children, saying it was with them a fast-day; adding diffidently that whether such observance were right or wrong, she felt it her duty to keep them strictly. The Jews, who are numerous in this part of the Rhine, greatly surpass the German peasantry in the beauty of their features and in the intelligence of their countenances."^{25b}

1845. Balzac, Honore de. *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*.²⁶

Baron de Nucingen, who appears in this and several other

²⁵ See *Jewish chronicle*, Nov. 26, 1880, p. 7 and Dec. 3, 1880, p. 12; and *South African magazine*, 1906, v. 1, p. 70.

^{25a} The sub-title is: In a small village opposite St. Goer, upon the Rhine. The opening line reads: Genius of Raphael! if thy wings. It was first included in his *Yarrow revisited, and other poems*, London, 1835.

^{25b} See Sir Alfred T. Davies, "A Wordsworth gem," in *New Judaea*, London, v. 3, Feb. 4, 1927, p. 180-181, where the poem is also reprinted.

²⁶ Translated by Ellery Sedgwick, and published at Philadelphia, 1895-1896.

novels of his *Comédie Humaine* series, is said to be a caricature of Baron James de Rothschild, 1792-1868.

1846. Thackeray, William Makepeace. *Notes of a journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo, by way of . . . Jerusalem.*

Thackeray tells of having travelled with the Consul General of the United States for Syria. Mrs. Elfrida C. Solis-Cohen identifies this Consul as Warder Cresson, the Philadelphia convert to Judaism, who settled and died in the Holy Land, in 1860.²⁷

1853. Sheppard, Elizabeth S. Charles Auchester.

This is the "astounding" work of a young English girl.²⁸ It has two themes, music and the glory of Israel. It gained immediate popularity and was reprinted with critical introductions in a number of editions.²⁹ Charles Auchester, in the novel, is half-Jewish—"whatever enlightenment my destiny has boasted streams from that radiant point." Chevalier Seraphael is a portrait of the composer Mendelssohn-Bartholdy; Auchester was Joseph Joachim, the violinist; Starwood Burney was Sir W. Sterndale Bennett; Clara Bennett was Jenny Lind; Aronach was Zelter, Mendelssohn's teacher; Maria was Mendelssohn's sister Fanny, the circumstances of whose death were similar to those described in the book; and Laura Lemark was probably Fanny Ellsler, the dancer.

²⁷ See *Publications*, No. 28, p. 241-242. As to Cresson, see *Publications*, No. 8, p. 81-83, where further bibliographical references to him are given. See also E. M. H., "Thackeray and the Jews," in *Jewish chronicle*, London, Jan. 4, 1889, p. 8.

²⁸ See M. J. Landa, "Mendelssohn in a novel," in *Jewish guardian*, London, v. 11, Oct. 4, 1929, p. 24; *Reform advocate*, Chicago, 1892, v. 2, p. 374; and H. E. Wortham, "The constant nymph' and the musical novel," in *Nineteenth century*, 1927, v. 101, p. 267-270.

²⁹ Reprinted, London, 1864; with introduction and notes by George P. Upton, Chicago, 1891, 2 v.; and, with an introduction by Jessie A. Middleton, London 1911, in Everyman's library edition.

1853/55. Thackeray, William M. *The Newcomes*.

"It is certain that 'little Nàdab', the improvisatore of whom Thackeray speaks was a certain [Charles] Sloman [or Solomon, ca. 1808-1870],³⁰ who called himself the only English *improvisatore*, who used to sing at the Coal Hole, and the outpourings of whose improvisations were remarkably like the specimens given in *The Newcomes*." Charles Sloman, with his brother Henry, was at one time the proprietor of the Rochester Theatre. Landa calls him "the premier extempore singer in England in the middle of the last century."³¹ In a one-act burletta (anonymous but probably by W. T. Moncrieff), entitled *Crockery's misfortunes; or, Transmogrifications*, staged at the Coburg Theatre, London, July 11, 1821, there is introduced "A comic medley in three parts, written by W. T. Moncrieff for, and sung by, [Charles] Sloman."³²

In *The Newcomes*, The Coal Hole, a night-club of Victorian London, next to the stage door of the Adelphi in Maiden Lane, is meant to represent The Cyder Cellars, which at the beginning of the present century became converted into prayer

³⁰ See Charles H. Crane in *South African magazine*, 1906, v. 1, p. 393; and Isadore G. Mudge and M. E. Sears, *A Thackeray dictionary*, London, 1910, p. 181, who quote Edmund H. Yates, *Recollections*, London, 1884, v. 1, p. 166, and Lewis Melville [pseud. of Lewis S. Benjamin], *A life of William M. Thackeray*, London, 1899, v. 1, p. 152, as further references. As to Sloman, see also *Jewish encyclopedia*, XI: 408, and Alfred Rubens, *Anglo-Jewish portraits*, London, 1935, p. 112-113.

³¹ M. J. Landa, *The Jew in drama*, London, 1926, p. 18. *Ibid.*, p. 275, Landa states: "Sloman in the fifties extemporized doggerel verses, referring to the dress, deportment, or manners of any member of the audience. . . . He laboured under the delusion he could sing. Billed once to sing at the City of London Theatre . . . at an entertainment in aid of a Jewish charity, he chose as an appropriate number 'The maid of Judah.' No sooner had he croaked the first line, 'No more shall the children of Israel sing,' than a Jew in the gallery shouted: 'I should think not, with a voice like yours.'"

³² See the playlet, under its title, London, 1821, p. 8.

rooms for the Maiden Lane Synagogue.^{32a} Mr. Wilfred S. Samuel of London writes me that "that Synagogue broke away from the Western Synagogue. It stayed away for about a century, finally rejoining its parent about the year 1900 [April 29, 1907]. The building it occupied still stands. It was a blouse factory the last time I looked at it, but it is of no specific Jewish interest since it was not in the first place designed to be a synagogue."^{32b}

1858. [Jones, John Richter.] *The Quaker soldier; or, The British in Philadelphia.*³³

The prototype in this novel is none other than Haym Salomon, the Revolutionary patriot, who is here called Solomon Isaakski. Two chapters are devoted to him,—chapter 7, entitled *Solomon Isaakski, pawnbroker*, and chapter 40, entitled *The pawnbroker's discovery*. He is made to speak English with a German accent and ungrammatically, which may well have been the case. He is described as follows: "The face and forehead were grand, full of intellect and benevolence with a slight seasoning of something like cunning, though not enough to impair the general effect; you could not but wonder what these features were doing on the shoulders of a pawnbroker . . . In support of the cause of the Revolution none was more ready to sacrifice what men hold more precious; few were more meritorious." "You ought to have lived in the days of your great forefathers," says another character to

^{32a} See Charles H. Crane, *supra*, p. 394.

^{32b} Cecil Roth gives a full account in his *Records of the Western Synagogue, 1761-1932*, London, 1932, p. 81-87.

The Cider Cellars was described under its own name by Albert Richard Smith, in his *The adventures of Mr. Ledbury and his friend Jack Johnson*, London, 1844, and in his *The London medical student*, London, 1861.

³³ 1 p. l., xxi-xxix, 31-569 p. front. 12°. Published anonymously. A notice of it and an account of Salomon, by "Penn" (William Perinne), is printed in the *Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, March 15, 1900.

him, "you are worthy of the best of the Beni Israel." Solomon thereupon delivers a long speech on the sufferings of the Jews in days gone by, and how dear to his people is the cause of freedom, etc.

The pawnbroking establishment which he maintains is only a blind. In reality his shop is a rendezvous for all American patriots who come there to counter-scheme the villainies of the British. By an underground way, Solomon learns that the sister of the hero, Capt. Hazlewood, had been abducted by the British. He finds out who the captors are and the book ends with him leading the brother and a band of patriots to an heroic rescue of the girl. Altogether not a bad story to be included in the promised movie about Salomon, if and whenever it is produced.

1860. Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The marble faun; or, The romance of Monte Beni*.³⁴

In 1859 Hawthorne, after a two years' sojourn in Rome, returned to England and there he wrote his *The marble faun*. Some critics consider it one of his best works, ranking it with his *The house of the seven gables*. The heroine of the present romance is a girl called Miriam. She personifies American independence. Moncure D. Conway, a biographer of Hawthorne,³⁵ says: "Miriam is portrayed from a Jewess met in London." Katharine Lee Bates states: "The characters were suggested by actual persons. Hilda is Hawthorne's daughter, Una. Miriam's dark beauty was drawn from a Jewess who once sat opposite Hawthorne at a Lord Mayor's dinner."³⁶ Another authority says: "Miriam was the daughter and heiress of a great Jewish banker and had fled from her parental home to escape from a union with a cousin . . . the object [of the

³⁴ Issued also in England under the title *Transformation*.

³⁵ In his *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, London [1890], p. 165.

³⁶ *Marble faun* . . . Introd. by K. L. Bates. New York [1902], p. xx.

parents] being to retain the vast accumulation of wealth within the family.”³⁷ Who that London Jewess was no one seems to know. What Jewish families did Hawthorne know in London or Liverpool, where he was the Consul? It would be more than interesting to ascertain this.

1866. Swinburne, Algernon. *Dolores (Notre-dame des sept douleurs)*.³⁸

The Dolores of this poem is, by nearly all biographers of Swinburne, accepted to have been the American Jewish actress, Adah Isaacs Menken, author of *Infelicia* (1868).³⁹ “That the stout, brandy-sipping, passionate, large-hearted circus queen, who wrote bad *vers libre* . . . and wanted Swinburne to correct them, was the original of the melodious Dolores is probable—for Dolores was Adah Menken’s real or assumed name in private life.”⁴⁰ Menken was a character, under her own name, in Melvin Levy’s *Gold eagle Guy*, which was produced at the Morosco Theatre, New York, Nov. 28, 1934. Stella Adler acted the part.

1870. Harte, Francis Bret. *Dickens in camp*.⁴¹

It depicts a scene in a mining camp in the High Sierras, when one of the miners reads to the others the story of Dickens’ Little Nell. In reality it is an incident in Harte’s own life,

³⁷ *Marble faun* (Boston [1888] edition), chapter 3, p. 38.

³⁸ Included in his: *Poems and ballads*, London, 1866.

³⁹ See *Adah Isaacs Menken; a daughter of Israel*, by A. F. Lesser, in *Publications*, no. 34, p. 143-147; Thomas E. Welby, *A study of Swinburne*, New York, 1926, p. 95-102; Samuel C. Chew, *Swinburne*, Boston, 1929, p. 79-80; M. W. Disher, *Fierce and luxurious Dolores*, in *Theatre arts monthly*, 1930, v. 14, p. 780-788; and especially Bernard Falk, *The naked lady; or, Storm over Adah*, London, 1934, p. 122-123.

⁴⁰ *Times literary supplement*, 1937, v. 36, p. 812.

⁴¹ First printed in *Overland monthly*, San Francisco, July 1870, v. 5, p. 90. See Helen I. Davis, *Bret Harte and his Jewish ancestor* in *Publications*, no. 32, p. 99-111.

when as a youth in the old "Mother lode" mines in the early 50's he would read to the old grizzled prospectors about Little Nell.⁴²

⁴² "Bret Harte, as he grew older and won fame as a writer, became cold, supercilious and autocratic—the very reverse of what you would picture him from a reading of his rough and ready stories of pioneer life in the so-called 'wide open spaces.' A story is told of him which runs like this—in fact he tells it on himself in one of his old newspaper interviews in Glasgow: the newly built R. R. from S. F. to Sacramento was on the bum thro' some accident and the only way to get up state was by the Sacramento River Steamboat which left at 6 P. M. and docked in Sacramento early the following morning. Harte approaches the Purser and asks for a berth, preferring a cabin to himself, if possible. Told that there wasn't a berth left, he hands his visiting card to the official, remarking loftily—'Perhaps my card may entitle me to some consideration' to which the response was 'There is nothing for Mr. Francis Bret Harte nor any other Harte, soul or body' at which a general laugh from the irreverent bystanders completely discomfited him, he evidently being unknown to them all—for such was fame in the old pioneer days of our frontier civilization. But a rough and somewhat ragged mining chap instantly addressed him:—'Be you the feller what wrote *The luck of roaring camp?*' and upon confessing his identity his hand was seized in a mighty grip, and the miner said, 'Say pardner, there's a greaser (Californian slang for a Mexican) in my stateroom that has the lower bunk and if you say the word, I'll chuck him in the river right now!' 'And,' adds Harte, 'I do believe he would'."

"We Jews never claimed Harte as one of us—for his mother was Christian and he never mentioned his Jewish blood except to his intimate Jewish friends. But he called my father 'cousin' and likewise the Peixotto family in S. F. I recall in 1871 my father's 'two cousin Franks'—Frank [Benjamin Franklin] Peixotto and Frank Bret Harte, were at my home one evening when the former was about to go with his family to Europe to take the post of U. S. Consul to Bucharest, Roumania. Some 3 years later Harte was appointed to a similar consular job at Glasgow, Scotland."

The above two quotations, as well as the information about "Dickens in camp," are extracts from a letter to Helen Solis-Cohen of Philadelphia from her uncle Lucius Solomons of San Francisco, dated November 1, 1936. Their inclusion here was kindly permitted by Miss Emily Solis-Cohen of Philadelphia, who gave the Society a copy of part of that letter.

1874. Trollope, Anthony. *Phineas Redux*.⁴³

Daubeny is Benjamin Disraeli.⁴⁴

1876. Eliot, George, pseud. *Daniel Deronda*.

In this English novel, all-important from the point of view of its Jewish interest, the central Jewish characters have been identified, with varying degrees of probability. Leonora, Princess of Halm-Eberstein, born Charisi, mother of Daniel, is said to have been based on the mother of Isaac Disraeli.⁴⁵ Lord Beaconsfield, in his *Life and writings of Isaac Disraeli*, gives an account of his paternal grandmother, her resentment of her Jewish origin and her lack of affection for her son Isaac. It seems probable that George Eliot must have taken some touches in the portrait of Deronda's mother from Isaac Disraeli's mother, Sarah Siprut (Seyproot) de Gabay.

Herr Julius Klesmer, the great musician, "being a felicitous combination of the German, the Slave and the Semite" (D. D. ch. 5), is said to be Liszt, whom our author met at Weimar.⁴⁶

Hertha Ayrton, born Phoebe Sarah Marks, wife of Professor Ayrton and stepmother of Mrs. Israel Zangwill, is Mirah, sister of Mordecai Cohen, in the novel.⁴⁷

In the *Fortnightly review* (1866, v. 4, p. 386-388), George H. Lewes, its editor and husband of George Eliot, describes a German Jew, Cohn or Kohn by name, whom he had met at a philosophical club in London. This Cohn, a journeyman watchmaker by trade and president of the club, who intro-

⁴³ First appeared serially in the *Graphic*.

⁴⁴ Walbridge, *supra*.

⁴⁵ See "Deronda's mother; a literary parallel," in *Temple bar*, London, 1877, v. 49, p. 542-545, quoted by Mudge and Sears, in their *A George Eliot dictionary*, London, 1924.

⁴⁶ Lord Acton, in his *Historical essays & studies*, London, 1926, p. 299-300.

⁴⁷ See Evelyn Sharp, "George Eliot and 'Mirah' (1875-6)," in her *Hertha Ayrton*, London, 1926, p. 36-52.

duced Lewes to Spinoza's teachings, is described by Lewes as "a man of astonishing subtlety and logical force, no less than of sweet personal worth." Mudge and Sears, *supra*, take him to be the original of Mordecai. To the personal characteristics of this Cohn, as described by Lewes, George Eliot added the passion for a Zionist state, which she is said, by Lord Acton, the historian, to have taken from a Moldavian Jew, who came to her with introductions, while she was writing *Adam Bede* in Munich.⁴⁸

Col. Albert Edward Williamson Goldsmid, 1846-1904, scion of a distinguished Anglo-Jewish family, a colonel in the British army, and an ardent follower of Herzl ("a type of a Jew," says Sokolow, "such as could hardly be found in any other country [than England]"), is said to be the original of Daniel Deronda himself. The editor of *South African magazine*,⁴⁹ who apparently knew the colonel, writes:

The late Col. Goldsmid⁵⁰—who served in the recent war in this country [South Africa] with much distinction—was the personage upon whom George Eliot modelled the hero in *Daniel Deronda*. Like Deronda, the Colonel, though of Jewish descent, was not brought up as a Jew, but grew up to manhood before he became aware of his Jewish birth. It was the Countess d'Avigdor who gave him his first lessons in Hebrew. He was then twenty-one years old and when, a little later, he sailed for India to join his regiment, he continued his Hebrew studies on the voyage. He formally entered the community in his 24th year at Poona, his birthplace, the rabbi at Bombay performing the ceremony. A correspondent of the *Jewish World* states that he remembers distinctly the Colonel's emphatic explanation to those he met that there was no question of marriage to influence him in adopting Judaism, but that the step was deliberately taken from sincere conviction, derived from a careful study of the Scriptures, and in order to satisfy his heart and conscience. Colonel Goldsmid was selected to organize the South American scheme of

⁴⁸ See Lord Acton, *supra*.

⁴⁹ v. 1, 1906, p. 248-250.

⁵⁰ See Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism, 1600-1918*, London, 1919, v. 1, p. 217, 233-234; v. 2, p. 43.

Jewish colonization by the late Baron Hirsch, and the writer enjoys his vivacious and interesting accounts of his efforts in that direction. The Colonel was nearly related to the late Sir Francis Goldsmid, M. P. for Reading . . . and to the present Sir Julian Goldsmid. . . .

This identification is supported by a recent volume of memoirs, published in Buenos Aires. Its author, Lipman Rosenthal, tells that, in 1906, Carmel, the colonel's daughter, visited him in Bialistok, govt. of Grodno, Russia, on her mission to investigate the pogrom in that city, of June 1906. Rosenthal quotes Miss Goldsmid as saying: "You ought to know that my father was Daniel Deronda." She told him further—he states—of visits made by George Eliot to her father, in collecting material for the novel. The colonel's daughter was so strict in her Orthodox observance that she at first refused to partake of a meal at Rosenthal's home, and consented to do so only after being assured that the eminent Rabbi Samuel Mohilwer often dined at his home.⁵¹

According to Sir Leslie Stephen,⁵² the philosophical poet Edmund Gurney, 1847-1888, may have been in some respects the original of Daniel Deronda. Lord Acton thinks that Deronda's personal appearance was taken by the novelist from Christ in Titian's "Tribute money."⁵³

1878. Alphonse Daudet. *The nabob*.

Felicia Ruys is either Sarah Bernhardt the actress, 1844-1923, or Judith Gautier.⁵⁴

⁵¹ See *Jüdische Rundschau*, Berlin, Jahrg. 42, March 26, 1937, Nr. 24/25, p. 12.

⁵² See his *George Eliot*, London, 1902, p. 191. "I have always fancied—though without any evidence—that some touches of Deronda were drawn from one of her friends, Edmund Gurney, a man of remarkable charm of character, and as goodlooking as Deronda."

⁵³ Acton, *supra*: "At Dresden Titian haunted her for years. It became the portrait of her latest hero [Daniel Deronda]."

⁵⁴ Walbridge, *supra*.

1880/81. Meredith, George. *The tragic comedians*.⁵⁵

The anonymous (but later disclosed to have been Joseph Jacobs) reviewer in *The Athenaeum* pointed out that this novel is an account of the later years of Ferdinand Lassalle, and that Sigismund Alvan in it is Lassalle and Clotilde von Rüdiger is Helena von Donniges. He also stated that Meredith relied almost exclusively on Helena Von Racowitza's *Meine Beziehungen zu Ferdinand Lassalle*, Breslau, 1879.⁵⁶ Meredith, in his *Preface*, wrote: "They [the two central characters] drank sunlight and drove their bark in a manner to eclipse historical couples upon our planet. Yet do they belong to history . . . the last chapter of them is written in red blood . . . nor is there anything invented." Zangwill included Lassalle in his famous gallery of the *Dreamers of the ghetto*.

1882. Crawford, F. Marion. *Mr. Isaacs*.⁵⁷

"Mr. Isaacs was drawn from life, the original being a certain Mr. Jacobs, dealer in rare jewels, who later became involved in a dispute with the Nizam of Deccan over the price of the Great Empress diamond. Had you talked with Mr. Crawford . . . you would have learned that there was nothing exceptional in the case of Mr. Isaacs. He would have told you with a quiet smile that the men and women of his novels were all real people, whom he had for the most part known and liked well."⁵⁸ In the novel *Isaacs* is a devout Mohammedan,

⁵⁵ Originally appeared in *Fortnightly review*, 1880-81, v. 34-35.

⁵⁶ See S. Levy, "The Meredith centenary," in *Jewish chronicle*, London, Feb. 1928, supplement 86, p. viii, where he lists the various editions and foreign translations, and discloses the identity of Joseph Jacobs as the writer of the *Athenaeum* review. An edition of *The tragic comedians*, with an introduction by Clement Shorter, appeared in 1892, and it was reviewed, again by Joseph Jacobs, in the *Jewish chronicle*, March 11, 1892, p. 17.

⁵⁷ Reviewed by F. Littledale in *Academy*, London, 1882, v. 22, p. 465-466; and in *Times literary supplement*, 1926, v. 25, p. 592.

⁵⁸ Walbridge, *supra*, quoting Frederick T. Cooper's "Some American

with three wives in his harem. Crawford in his *A Roman singer* introduced the Wandering Jew, called him Ahaseurus Benoni, and made him an international financier.

1884. Colombier, Marie. *The memoirs of Sarah Barnum*.

A scandalous *roman à clef* about Sarah Bernhardt. Sarah, in revenge, horsewhipped the authoress with her own hands, and then engaged Jean Richepin to write another novel, *Marie Pigeonnier*, in reprisal.⁸⁹

1884. Vosmaer, Carel. *The Amazon*.

The two main characters are Aisma the painter and Askol the sculptor. Dr. David Philipson⁹⁰ identifies Aisma as the English painter Laurence Alma Tadema and Askol as the American sculptor, Moses J. Ezekiel, 1844-1917. Dr. Philipson states that Ezekiel is also a character in Mary Agnes Ticknor's novel *The jewel in the lotus*. The opening pages of that novel depict the studio of Salathiel, the sculptor. Salathiel is Ezekiel. The studio, as portrayed by the novelist, is easily recognizable as his room in the Baths of Diocletian, which Ezekiel occupied as his residence in Rome from 1874 to 1917.

1889. Jerome, Jerome Klapka. *Three men in a boat (to say nothing of the dog)*.

One of the three men in this humorous novel, very popular in its day, was Carl Hentschel. In the book he is Harris. Jerome, the author of the famous play, *The passing of the third floor back*, counted many Jews, including Israel Zangwill, among his friends. In his book of memoirs he states: "Harris was Carl Hentschel. I met him first outside a pit

story tellers." See also Maud H. Elliott, *My cousin F. Marion Crawford*, New York, 1934, p. 67-70.

⁸⁹ Walbridge, *supra*.

⁹⁰ See his sketch of Ezekiel in *Publications*, *supra*, no. 28, p. 1-62; Sophie M. Collmann, "Sir Moses Ezekiel," in her *Jews in art*, 1909, p. 97-116; and sketch of Ezekiel by Adeline Adams in *Dictionary of American biography*, v. 6.

door. His father introduced photo-etching into England. It enabled newspapers to print pictures, and altered the whole character of journalism. The process was a secret then . . . Carl worked the business up into a big concern, and we thought he was going to end as Lord Mayor. The War brought him low. He was accused of being a German. As a matter of fact he was a Pole. But his trade rivals had got their chance, and took it."⁶¹

1890. Schubin, Ossip.⁶² *Asbein from the life of a virtuoso.*⁶³

Anton Rubinstein, pianist and composer, 1829-1894, is supposed to be the original of Boris Lensky.⁶⁴

1892. Zangwill, Israel. *Children of the ghetto; being pictures of a peculiar people.*

In this novel of the London ghetto, the neo-Hebrew poet Melchitsedek Pinchas is based on the Hebrew poet Naphtali Herz Imber, 1856-1909, author of the Zionist hymn "Hatikvah."⁶⁵ Raphael Leon, in the second part of the volume ("Grandchildren of the ghetto") and one of its central characters, is Dr. Harry S. Lewis,⁶⁶ formerly a member of the faculty of the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York.

⁶¹ See J. K. Jerome, *My life and times*, London [1926], p. 106-107. See also *South African magazine*, v. 1, p. 255.

⁶² pseud. of Lula Kirschner.

⁶³ transl. from the Russian.

⁶⁴ Walbridge, *supra*.

⁶⁵ "In London lernte er [Imber] Zangwill kennen, der ihn in seinen 'Children of the ghetto' als den Betteldichter Malkizedek Pinchas schilderte,"—*Encyclopædia Judaica*, VIII:399. The same information is given in the *Dictionary of American biography* (art. Imber). See "A hero of fiction" in *American Hebrew*, 1901, v. 68, p. 428 (abstracted from the *New York Tribune*). See also N. H. Imber, "What the children of the ghetto said of [Zangwill's] book," in *Butterfly*, London, 1893, v. 2, Nov. 1893, p. 6-13, and Dec. 1893, p. 106-112.

⁶⁶ Author of *Liberal Judaism and social service*, New York, 1915, and co-author, with C. Russell, of *The Jew in London*, London, 1900.

1893. King, Edward. *Joseph Zalmonah*.

It deals with the trade union struggles of the Jewish needle workers on the New York East Side. The present Edward King is the author of *The gentle savage* and not the Edward King who was a social worker and labor leader at about that time. In *Joseph Zalmonah* it is easy to recognize the person of a labor leader with the same cognomen, viz., Joseph Barondess, 1867-1928, who later became active in the Zionist movement.⁶⁷

1894. Du Maurier, George L. P. B. *Trilby*.

The English painter Felix Moscheles, 1833-1917, has been suggested as the prototype of Svengali, a character famous in the novel and made more so by Beerbohm Tree in Paul M. Potter's dramatization. Moscheles, in his *In Bohemia with Du Maurier*,⁶⁸ states: " 'You'll see that I've used up all your Mesmerism and a trifle more in my new book,' said Du Maurier to me some time before he published his 'Trilby'." On the other hand, Charles C. H. Millar,⁶⁹ after identifying several of the characters in "Trilby", says that "Svengali was an entirely original conception" and implies that no prototype was involved.

1894. France, Anatole. *The red lily*.

The Jewish interest is but a decoration to the main story.

The information about the identity of Lewis with Leon was told me by Dr. Joshua Bloch, who heard it from Zangwill himself in the presence of the late George A. Kohut, at the latter's home, in 1926.

⁶⁷ The *American Hebrew* (1893, v. 53, p. 675) reviewer hinted that an actual contemporary was meant and continued: "He belongs to that very small class of men who have taken up the cause of their fellow-workmen in an earnest desire to better their conditions. He is a mechanic by vocation and a labor reformer by avocation. We would not call him an agitator . . ." Reviewed also by Rosa Schulhoefer in *Menorah monthly*, 1893, v. 15, p. 297-298; and in *New York Times*, Sept. 4, 1893, p. 3.

⁶⁸ London, 1896, p. 9.

⁶⁹ In his *George Du Maurier and others*, London [1937], p. 147.

Schmall is the French Jewish Orientalist and president of the Société des Etudes Juives, Jules Oppert,⁷⁰ 1825-1905.

1899. Ford, Paul Leicester. *Janice Meredith; a story of the American Revolution*.

Max J. Kohler is authority for the statement that Rebecca Franks is Janice Meredith. He states:

"As an interested student I . . . dare suggest that Mr. Ford based the career of his heroine, Janice Meredith, upon that of the fascinating, witty and beautiful Rebecca Franks, though Mr. Ford takes numerous liberties with her life and character. Some of the points suggesting this resemblance are Janice Meredith's encounter with General Lee, which in the book leads to the duel [between Col. Brereton and the General], her participation in the *Mischianza*, her intimacy with General Howe and Major André and various American leaders, her friendship with the Chew and Willing families of Philadelphia, her wit and her repartee, sparing neither the British nor the patriot leaders, as well as her beauty and attractiveness, her father's toryism and the persecutions and misfortunes which it entailed, and many other points too numerous to mention here."⁷¹

Her cousin, David S. Franks, figures there under his own name, as a patriot officer in Philadelphia. Col. Brereton, the hero, is based on Alexander Hamilton. The novel was dramatized and enjoyed a successful run on the stage. Rebecca Franks is also a character, under her right name, in Silas W. Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne; free Quaker* (1896), which deals, with great completeness, with colonial life and manners in Philadelphia, at the time of the Revolution.^{71a}

1900. Hawkins, Anthony Hope. *Quisanté*.⁷²

Alexander Quisanté, the central figure, is an English sub-

⁷⁰ Walbridge, *supra*. See also Marvin M. Lowenthal, "Anatole France's Jews," in *Menorah journal*, 1925, v. 11, p. 14-26.

⁷¹ *Jewish comment*, Baltimore, v. 9, Oct. 13, 1899, p. 7. See also M. J. Kohler, *Rebecca Franks; an American Jewish belle of the last century*, New York, 1894.

^{71a} See Max Farrand, "Hugh Wynne; a historical novel," in *Washington historical quarterly*, Seattle, Wash., 1907, v. 1, no. 3, p. 101-108.

⁷² Reviewed in *Spectator*, London, 1900, v. 85, p. 494.

ject of Portuguese extraction, "with Jewish blood in his veins." The novel is based on episodes in Benjamin Disraeli's life, in which he received the support of the brothers Lord George and Lord Henry Bentinck. The brothers are represented as Lord Richard and Lord James Benyon, and Quisanté is Disraeli himself.⁷³

1902. Graham, Winifred. *The Zionist*.

The hero is the son of mixed parentage, raised in no creed but destined from the outset, by his mother's friends, to be the deliverer of the Jewish race and to found a new Jerusalem. Neil Primrose, son of Lord Rosebery and Hannah Rothschild, is the hero meant. This identification was made long before the Great War. Curiously and prophetically enough, the story of the book was fulfilled in life in a strange way. Neil Primrose joined the British army at the beginning of the War but was summoned home to be Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in the spring of 1915. In May 1917 he left his post (by this time that of Parliamentary Secretary of the Treasury) to join Allenby in the Palestine expedition. He was killed in action in November 1918, and buried in Palestine as belonging to the Jewish faith. "Only one who knew him well," said Mr. Asquith, "can realize how much golden promise lies buried in the grave of Neil Primrose."⁷⁴

1902. Herzl, Theodor. *Altneuland*.⁷⁵

In this Zionist Utopia Herzl forecasted what can be done in the near future, given a will to do it, and ended it with the memorable: "It will remain a legend, only if you do not desire it." The Russian Zionist Organization published Nahum

⁷³ Walbridge, *supra*, quoting Anthony Hope's *Memories and notes*, 1928, p. 155-156.

⁷⁴ See E. T. Raymond, *Life of Lord Rosebery*, New York [1923], p. 230-231.

⁷⁵ Translated into English in *Maccabaeon*, Oct. 1902-Aug. 1903, v. 3-5; and in abridged form, by Lotta Levensohn, in *New Palestine*, 1929, v. 16-17.

Sokolow's translation of it in Hebrew, the same year, under the title *Tel-Aviv*, which provided a name for the all-Jewish city in Palestine, when it was founded a few years later. It is a complete *roman à clef* and most of Herzl's associates and acquaintances are in it. Those who are versed well in the early history of political Zionism can, no doubt, identify the majority of the characters. David Litvak is "der immer braver Wolffsohn"⁷⁶ who, although he lived the greater part of his life in Köln, hailed from Lithuania; the architect Steineck is Oskar Marmorek, 1863-1909; Professor Steineck is his bacteriologist brother, Alexander Marmorek, 1865-1923; and the old rabbi Samuel is Samuel Mohiliwer, 1824-1898, one of Herzl's most devoted helpers.⁷⁷

1903. Kipling, Rudyard. *The captive*.⁷⁸

Dr. Cyrus Adler⁷⁹ is authority for the statement that Laughton O. Zigler of the story is Edmund Louis Grey Zalinski,⁸⁰ 1849-1909. Zalinski⁸¹ was an eminent artillery officer in the U. S. Army and inventor of the pneumatic dynamite gun. He served in the Civil War with distinction and

⁷⁶ b. Dorbian, Kovno, 1856; d. Hamburg, 1914. "In der Heldengestalt des David Litwak hat er [Herzl] David Wolffsohn dichterisch verewigt,"—Abraham Robinson, in his *David Wolffsohn*, Berlin, 1921, p. 50. Herzl's plans and thoughts of his future "Altneuland" can be studied in his *Tagebücher*. See the index there, under "Altneuland" and "Romanidee Herzls."

⁷⁷ I am indebted to my friend Isaac Rivkind for calling my attention to this work of Herzl and for his identifying the character in *The brothers Ashkenazi*, q. v. under 1936.

⁷⁸ The first story in his volume *Traffics and discoveries*. It originally appeared in *Illustrated London news*, Summer number for 1903, p. 1-12 (with illustrations, by R. C. W.).

⁷⁹ *Publications*, *supra*, no. 19, p. 197.

⁸⁰ He was born in Poland in 1849, and was brought to America in 1853. See biographic sketch of him in *National cyclopedia of American biography*, v. 7, p. 248.

⁸¹ See W. Arthur Young, *A dictionary of . . . Rudyard Kipling*, London [1911], p. 32, 227.

was discharged as a lieutenant at the age of 16. Later he was professor of military science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was also a member of our Society from 1892 till his death. In the story, the narrator meets with Zigler, prisoner of war in South Africa, who explains that he joined the Boers to give the Laughton-Zigler automatic two-inch gun and Laughtite, a high explosive, a chance. Zigler tells an amusing story of the ultimate destruction of the Zigler gun by a British shell, of the period he and Van Zuyl, the Boer general, spent in the British camp, and the amenities of their captivity. He tells also of his uncle, whom he calls by his right name, Zalinski, "a farmer and money-lender whose fortune enabled him to perfect his automatic gun."

1906. Bang, Herman J. *Denied a country*.⁸²

Georg (Morris Cohen) Brandes, the Danish critic and man of letters, 1842-1927, is a character called the Professor, who has a vision of universal culture.

1908. Brudno, Ezra S. *The tether*.⁸³

The author, a Harvard graduate and member of the Cleveland bar, deals here with the struggles, economic and otherwise, of a poor Russian Jewish boy while a student at Harvard and immediately upon his graduation. In the novel he calls him David Sephardi. This David is based on the early career of Bernhard Berenson,^{83a} the Florentine art critic. Mr. Brudno writes me in a letter: "I wish to tell you frankly that it [*The*

⁸² Translated from the Danish, *De uden faederland*, into English in 1927. Reviewed in *New York Times book review*, May 29, 1927, p. 8.

⁸³ Reviewed by Louis Lipsky in *American Hebrew*, 1908, v. 83, p. 613. See also "The Jews of Ezra Brudno" by Sarah D. Aronstam in *Jewish tribune*, v. 17, April 21, 1911, p. 1, 8.

^{83a} b. Wilno, Poland, 1866, was graduated from Harvard College in 1887, and married, in 1900. Mary Logan Costello, daughter of Robert Pearsall Smith.

tether] was based upon the life of Berenson,⁸⁴ the famous critic of Florentine art, who has lived for a great number of years in Florence and who was married to a Boston gentile girl of one of the best families there. When I was a student in Paris in 1906 or 1907 some one there told me the story of Berenson, and that later developed into the piece of fiction which I called 'The tether.' The other characters are fictitious and in essence taken from life. Personally I do not believe that any writer can ever produce a piece of fiction without having some definite person or persons in mind, and very often they become a composite of a number of characters in real life, but there is always a germ of some fact back of every fictitious character."

1908. Davis, Allan. *The promised land*.

On March 10, 1908, the Harvard Dramatic Society was organized at Harvard College, under eminent auspices. Present at that meeting, among many others, were Prof. George P. Baker, of the famous 47 Workshop, William R. Castle, Edward B. Sheldon and David Carb, Lee Simonson, W. G. Wendell, James Thayer Addison, John Hall Wheelock, William Chase Greene, Robert Emmons Rogers, J. A. Eccles, Allan Davis and H. von Kaltenborn. It was decided to produce a play during the coming winter and, from about a dozen original plays submitted in competition, the Graduate Committee, consisting of Prof. G. P. Baker, Winthrop Ames the producer, and H. T. Parker, dramatic critic of the *Boston Transcript*, unanimously chose *The promised land*, by Allan Davis,⁸⁵ of the class of 1907. It was produced at Brattle Hall,

⁸⁴ See *Who's who in America*.

⁸⁵ Member of a well-known Pittsburgh Jewish family, director of the Educational Alliance, New York, 1910-11, and author of a number of other dramas. He died Jan. 1, 1929. Autobiographic sketches of him appear in Harvard College, Class of 1907, *Secretary's report*, 1913, p. 73-74; 1922, p. 127-132; and 1932, p. 152-154.

Cambridge, Mass., Dec. 15, 1908, and the printed text was dedicated to Prof. Baker.

Curiously enough, it was a play on Zionism. The scene in three of the four acts is the Congress Hall, presumably the sixth Zionist Congress at Basle, since the struggle in the play centers around the *Ja-* and the *Nein-sager* on the question of accepting the Uganda (Ganuda in the play) proposal. The hero is Raymond Hartwell (acted by R. M. Middlemass, '09), author, diplomat and President of the Congress, undeniably Theodor Herzl. Ussishkof, Russian leader (J. A. Eccles, '10) is M. M. Ussishkin, the zealous enemy then of Herzl. Rothstatt, Montfeld and Schiffert, termed capitalists, (acted by R. E. Rogers, '09, F. N. Evans, 3G, and W. C. Greene, '11) are the Rothschilds, one of the Montagus or Montefiores of England, and Jacob H. Schiff respectively. Of the three, Schiffert does most of the talking in ridiculing Herzl's inspired idea. The sympathy of the author was unmistakably on the Zionist side. One who witnessed the performance that night once told the writer that he was strangely moved to hear the Zionist hymn *There where the cedars kiss the clouds on high* ^{55a} sung with great fervor by the gentile Harvard actors. It was the first serious Jewish play produced in this country by a non-Jewish amateur organization.

1908. France, Anatole. *L'Île des pingouins*.⁵⁶

Peyrot represents Alfred Dreyfus of the Dreyfus case.⁵⁷

1908. Smith, F. Hopkinson. *Peter: a novel of which he is not the hero*.⁵⁸

^{55a} The opening lines of the German Zionist song by J. Feld:

Dort wo die Zeder schlank die Wolke küsst
dort wo die schnelle Jordanswelle fließt

⁵⁶ Translated into English by A. W. Evans, London, 1909.

⁵⁷ See Marvin M. Lowenthal, *supra*, under A. France, *The red lily* (1894).

⁵⁸ Reviewed in *Bookman*, New York, 1908, v. 28, p. 153; *Dial*,

In a lecture by F. H. Smith, before the Germantown, Pa. Y. M. H. A., he told of his having been introduced to Leo N. Levi, 1856-1904, president of the B'nai B'rith Order, by a mutual friend, at a private gathering. "In the course of the evening Mr. Levi said to me 'Will you not write something in justification of the Jew?' I replied: 'I do not know that he needs any justification.' 'Well,' Mr. Levi remarked, 'he certainly needs some fair representation.'"

The result was the character Isaac Cohen in Smith's *Peter*.⁸⁰ The prototype of this Isaac Cohen was disclosed by Smith in a correspondence between himself and M. L. B. of Manning, S. C., part of which was printed in the *Jewish comment*, Baltimore.⁸⁰ "The original was a little tailor in New York, who, for years, mended my clothes. He was much the kind of a man as his counterpart in *Peter*. He died a few years ago. His name was Levy Cohen."

1914. Forbes, James. *The show shop*.⁸¹

Theatrical folks are great favorites for inclusion in *romans* or *dramas à clef*. Abraham L. Erlanger, American theatrical booking agent,⁸² 1860-1930, is, in our times, the first among them to be so honored. He is the basis of the character Max Rosenbaum in Forbes' play. It was produced at the Hudson Theatre, New York, Dec. 31, 1914, with George Sidney as Rosenbaum.⁸³

New York, v. 45, p. 213; *Independent*, New York, v. 65, p. 718; and *Outlook*, New York, v. 90, p. 272.

⁸⁰ See Rebecca G. Jacobs, *F. Hopkinson Smith and the Jews*, in *Jewish exponent*, Philadelphia, 1913, v. 56, Jan. 10, 1913, p. 8.

⁸⁰ v. 38 (1912), p. 247.

⁸¹ *The show shop*; a farcical satire in four acts. New York: S. French, cop. 1919.

⁸² See biographic sketch of him in *Dictionary of American biography*.

⁸³ Reviewed in *New York dramatic mirror*, v. 73, Jan. 6, 1915, p. 8-9.

1914. Proust, Marcel. *Swann's way*.^{93a}

Swann's way is a translation of *Du côté de chez Swann*, the first part of Proust's continuous novel *À la recherche du temps perdu* (*Remembrance of things past*). Proust, the son of a French Catholic and a Jewish mother, Jeanne Weill, had many Jewish friends, when he was a student at the Lycée-Condorcet. Among them were Jacques Bizet, Fernand Gregh, Robert Dreyfus, Léon Brunschvigg, Daniel Halévy, and Léon Blum. In this largely autobiographic novel, there are two main Jewish characters, Swann and Albert Bloch. Swann is the "good" Jew; Bloch is the objectionable one, nervously unbalanced, aggressive, brilliant and conscious of it. In the house of a great-uncle on his mother's side, Louis Weill, where he met the Jewish members of his family, he made the acquaintance of Charles Haas, who "used to fill young Marcel with admiration and awe. Haas must have possessed a strange power of fascination for, though he was a Jew and not particularly wealthy, he was received and even sought after by the most exclusive aristocratic families of the time. Later on Proust chose him as the prototype for one of the main characters of his books: *Swann*."

Léon Brunschvigg, professor at Sorbonne and former school fellow of Proust, always maintained that he was the original of Bloch. More likely Bloch seems to be a synthetic character representing the little group of Proust's Jewish friends of his youth. It has also been said that in Swann Proust portrayed the Jewish half of his own personality. Within himself he was trying to reconcile the Jewish and Gentile strains. Marcel's grandmother in the book, according to practically all the critics, has many of the features of Proust's own mother, to whom he was inordinately devoted.^{93b}

^{93a} Transl. by C. K. Scott-Moncrieff. New York, 1930. 2 v.

^{93b} The information here given is taken largely from the chapter on Proust in Georges Lemaitre, *Four French novelists; Proust, Gide, Giraudoux, Morand*, London, 1938, who cites his authorities for the

1916. Wells, Herbert G. *Mr. Britling sees it through*.

The American Direct of the novel had for his original the Wisconsin-born editor and chairman of the London *Daily Express*, Ralph David Blumenfeld. "Mr. Wells did not hesitate to put me into his book as one of the characters that make up the personnel of that famous and ever-to-live war story" admitted R. D. B. later.⁹⁴

1917. Ferber, Edna. *Fanny herself*.^{94a}

Many years later, the author had occasion to write: "I started [in January 1916] *Fanny herself*, the story of a Jewish family in a small Wisconsin town, which I called Winnebago, Wisconsin. A good deal of it was imaginary; a good deal of it real. Certainly my mother, idealized, went to make up Molly Brandeis. Bits and pieces of myself crept into the character of Fanny Brandeis."^{94b} She included her-

statements heré quoted. For the many-sided Jewish interest of Proust's works, see David Ewen, "An appreciation of Marcel Proust," in *Reform advocate*, 1929, v. 77, p. 319-320; I. Graeber, "Marcel Proust; the man, the Jew, and his work," in *Jewish tribune*, New York, Dec. 16, 1927, p. 34-35; S. A. Rhodes, "Marcel Proust and his Jewish characters," in *Sewanee review*, 1931, v. 39, p. 144-157; John J. Spagnoli, "The social attitude of Marcel Proust," New York, 1936, p. 118-136; André Spire, "Marcel Proust," in *Jewish chronicle*, London, May 1923, suppl. 29, p. vi-vii; and Robert Vigneron, "Genèse de Swann," in *Revue d'histoire de la philosophie et d'histoire générale de la civilisation*, Lille, 1937, Jan. 15, p. 67-115. See also Marcel Proust, "Comment parut 'Du côté de chez Swann', lettres . . . Introduction et commentaires par Léon Pierre-Quint."

⁹⁴ See his *All in a lifetime*, [London, 1931] p. 174. See also Watchman, pseud., *H. G. Wells and the Jews in Jewish chronicle*, London, May 29, 1936, p. 13-14.

^{94a} Reviewed in *Dial*, New York, 1917, v. 63, p. 463; in *Nation*, New York, 1917, v. 105, p. 431-432; and (of the German translation *Das ist Fanny*) by Lotte Barschack in *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1931, Jahrg. 75, p. 227.

^{94b} Miss Ferber, born at Kalamazoo, Mich., and raised in Ottumwa, Iowa, Appleton, Wisc., and Chicago, Ill., reveals this in her memoirs,

self again in her Cimarron" (1930). "Sabra is partly (sorry) my own dramatization of myself . . . during my Appleton [Wisc.] days."^{94c}

1920. Wharton, Mrs. Edith N. J. *The age of innocence*.

It deals with New York high society of the nineties. Julius Beaufort, a leader or would-be leader in exclusive social circles, is said to be modelled on August Belmont,⁹⁵ 1816-1890. Mrs. Wharton denied this. The novel was dramatized by Margaret Barnes and was produced in New York, Nov. 27, 1928, with Arnold Korff in the rôle of Beaufort.

1921. Ferber, Edna. *The girls*.

Rutherford Hays Adler is supposed, not unreasonably, to be Franklin Pierce Adams (F. P. A.), the famous columnist of the "Conning tower."⁹⁶

1921. Opatoshu, Joseph. *In Polish woods*.

This historical novel,^{96a} the initial volume of a projected trilogy, written in Yiddish, and first published in a Hebrew translation by M. Lipson, deals with Hasidism at the beginning of its disintegration and the rise and growth of the *Haskalah* movement during the first half of the last century.

which she calls *A peculiar treasure*, now appearing serially in *Woman's home companion*. It was brought to my attention by Mr. E. F. Walbridge. The present quotation is from the issue of Jan. 1939, p. 16. Miss Ferber boldly starts out, in the issue of Oct. 1938, p. 8: "I should like in this book to write about being a Jew," and her autobiography, as it develops, reveals the struggles of a mid-western Hungarian-German Jewish family to get on (no boys in the family, only a father gradually going blind).

^{94c} *Woman's home companion*, Nov. 1938, p. 91.

⁹⁵ About Belmont, see *Jewish encyclopedia*.

⁹⁶ Walbridge, *supra*.

^{96a} The English translation is by Isaac Goldberg. For a full record of the other translations, see *Opatoshu Bibliography*, New York, 1937, p. 21-23.

Interwoven is the story of the futile struggle for the restoration of Polish independence.

Reb Itshe is Isaac Meir ben Israel Alter, d. 1866, Talmudist and Kabbalist, founder of the Gerer Zadikim dynasty, author of *Chidushei HaRIM*, who lived the greater part of his life in Warsaw and Góra-Kalwarja. Mendele is Menachem Mendel Morgenstern, 1787-1859, the noted founder of the Kotzker dynasty.^{96b} David, author of *Ayil Mruba*, is based on Solomon Maimon, philosopher and rabbinical student (b. at Nieswizh, Lithuania, 1754 and d. in Saxony, 1800), protégé of Moses Mendelssohn, and author of a famous autobiography, Berlin, 1793. Zangwill included him in his gallery of the *Dreamers of the ghetto*, under the title *Maimon the fool and Nathan the wise*.

Joseph Shtral is Zalman Posner, industrialist, scholar and philanthropist.^{96c} He is the protagonist of that movement in Russian Jewry, which we have come to know as *Haskalah*. Temer is Temerle,^{96d} daughter-in-law of the legendary Shlomo Zbitkower, wife of Ber or Berek, mother of the musician and pupil of Chopin, Michael Bergson, 1818-1898, and the paternal grandmother of the philosopher Henri Bergson.^{96e}

^{96b} English readers are referred to Louis I. Newman, *The Hasidic anthology*, New York, 1935, Index, p. 565-566, 567, about the sayings of the Gerer and the Kotzker. See also *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Bd. 2, col. 504-505, about the Gerer.

^{96c} Zalman Posner lived the greater part of his life in Kochara, govt. of Plonsk, Poland. See about his imprisonment in *Hamizrachi*, Warsaw, 1920, no. 14, 15, 16; and J. L. Zlotnik, *ibid.*, 1919, no. 52-53 (who states that he saw a coin, minted for or by Posner, bearing on one side the legend: *Fabryka S. M. P. w Kucharach*). Specimens of Zalman Posner's writings can be seen in Jakob Tugenhold, *Koshet Imre Emes vSholom*, Warsaw, 1844, p. 22-27, 55-64.

^{96d} See "In old Warsaw," a masterly essay by Nahum Sokolow, in *Haint*, jubilee issue 1908-1928, Warsaw, 1928, p. 121-124, which, under the title "Henri Bergson," is reprinted in his *Ishim*, Tel-Aviv, 1935, v. 3, p. 170-184.

^{96e} I am indebted to Mr. Opatoshu and Mr. Isaac Rivkind for the identifications and the given references.

1921. Wilson, Romer.⁹⁷ *The death of society; a novel of tomorrow.*

Ingman is drawn from Georg Brandes.⁹⁸

1923. Ornitz, Samuel B. *Haunch, paunch and jowl.*

This novel purports to be a portrayal of certain unsavoury conditions in certain Jewish sections of New York. The reviewers itched to identify some of the characters but did not dare.⁹⁹

1924. Ratcliffe, Dorothy Una. *Nathaniel Baddeley bookman.*^{100a}

In this one-act play, Mr. J. Vosenach, 1567 Fat Road, New York, "a buyer for an American firm," comes to the North Country, England, to purchase an Andrew Marvell item from Baddeley the bookman. Stella, the shop-clerk, refuses to sell it, although the old bookseller is hard pressed for funds. Mrs. Tottiedale, a neighbor, advises Stella to "tell Ameriky to make some Marvell's of her own." Vosenach is a thin disguise for A. S. W. Rosenbach, noted book-buyer and bibliophile.

Not long ago Dr. Rosenbach had occasion to write: "I myself have been the 'victim' of a tale. In an amusing mystery story, 'The Yorkshire moorland murder,'¹⁰⁰ published a year or two ago [1930], the author, Mr. J. S. Fletcher, thinly and flatteringly veils my identity under the name Doctor Charles Essenheim.

⁹⁷ pseud. of Florence R. M. Wilson O'Brien.

⁹⁸ Walbridge, *supra*.

⁹⁹ See Henry S. Rodman, *The truth about "Haunch, paunch and jowl,"* (an interview with the author) in *Jewish tribune*, New York, Feb. 22, 1924, p. 3, 11; Samuel Schulman's scathing review of it, *ibid.*, March 7, 1924, p. 1, 20; and the author's reply, *ibid.*, March 21, p. 7, 15.

^{100a} Nathaniel Baddeley bookman; a play for the fireside, in one act . . . illustrated by Fred Lawson. Leeds: At the Swan Press, 1924. 50 p., 1 l. 4°.

¹⁰⁰ Reviewed in *Books*, June 8, 1930, p. 12; and in *New York Evening Post*, May 10, 1930, magazine section, p. 11.

"Early in the story, I am discovered dead in a wild bit of country on a Yorkshire moor! It seems that I had spent the night before—as meritoriously as any movie star—alone with my books at a little inn, The Muzzled Ox. When a shepherd boy found me stiff and stark at a lonely spot, Harlesdon Scar, I had one small volume tucked into the pocket of my 'lounge suit,' a first edition of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim Progress.'

"It is strange that just before this story appeared, I had been at York, 'despoiling,' as the English papers later put it, the great library of York Minster. If, however, I am found dead with a book in my pocket, I hope it will be, not 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' but the first edition of 'The murders in the Rue Morgue'."¹⁰¹

His friend Christopher Morley, unwilling to have him remain murdered, later wrote:^{101a} "I felt that matters could not remain so, and consequently in a subsequent story of my own [*Rudolph and Amina*^{101b}] I brought him to life again. There you will find him in an old-fashioned fairy tale, as the godfather of a beautiful baby entitled Incunabula."

Under the appellation "the great Steingart" Dr. Rosenbach is met with again in William McFee's *The harbourmaster*.¹⁰² Here he is the bon-vivant and magnificent host. Captain Frank Fraley, the harbourmaster, during a short stay in the big city, is taken by his chief engineer to the "gallery on Madison Avenue [no. 273]." There he meets "a sculptor of

¹⁰¹ In his "Trail of scarlet," in *Saturday evening post*, v. 102, Oct. 1, 1932, p. 36, reprinted in his *A book hunter's holiday*, Boston, 1936, p. 80-81.

^{101a} In his *Ex libris carissimis*, Philadelphia, 1932, p. 4.

^{101b} *Rudolph and Amina*. New York: John Day Company [1930]. Reviewed in *Boston Evening Transcript*, Dec. 3, 1930, p. 5; and in *Saturday review of literature*, v. 7, Nov. 29, 1930, p. 385.

¹⁰² Reviewed by Isabel Paterson in *Books*, v. 8, Jan. 3, 1932, p. 1-2; by Peter Quennell in *New statesman and nation*, London, 1932, new ser., v. 3, p. 123; and by Hazel Hawthorne in *New republic*, 1932, v. 69, p. 275-276.

celebrities [Jo Davidson] and a painter of sailing ships, a publisher and several editors, authors and I believe a poet . . . intellectual nobles of a modern Venice, guests of a Jew who was the potential patron of each in turn. I suppose in old Venice an occasional navigator came ashore to be made much of in some palazzo along the Grand Canal, and he would feel as Frank and I felt at Steingart's refectory table."^{102a} Beef, ale and venison were served galore, but the pièce de résistance, handed out by Steingart himself, of that memorable visit, for the captain at least, were the love letters of the immortal Nelson to his mistress Emma.^{102b}

In doggerel (but not ill-made) verse, which he called *Eddie Newton's ride*,† William M. Elkins, the Philadelphia book collector, recounts the quixotic adventure which befell his fellow Philadelphian and book-collector, A. Edward Newton. The plot of the poem (?) is not easy to reconstruct. It seems that the fame of Rosey's [A. S. W. Rosenbach] dining room reached Mrs. Newton. The lady asks her husband to be taken

^{102a} See p. 289-295.

^{102b} In 1931 Paul Brooks published a selection of poems which had appeared in the *Harvard Lampoon*. He called it *Mondays at nine; or, Pedagogues on parade, a collection of the literary débris of Sarah Lampoon, last of the white witches and intimate confidante of the Harvard Faculty*. [Cambridge: Harvard Lampoon, 1931.] One of the poems is entitled *George Parker Winship*, and the first four lines read:

These lines are penned for those who never took—
Poor souls!— the History of the Printed Book,
Who've never hitched their pockets to the star
Of the dear "Doctor" or the great "B.R."

A note, on p. 54, *ibid.*, explains that the "Doctor" is Dr. Rosenbach and "B.R." is Bruce Rogers, the "two presiding deities of Dr. Winship's occult book-worship."

† *Eddie Newton's ride*; or, The diverting history of A. Edward. By William M. Elkins. Printed for the friends of A. Edward Newton, Esq. [Philadelphia, cop. 1934.] Published by The Book Table, in an edition limited to 300 copies.

there and is so promised. It is to be a party of "Rosey, Elkins, Parrish" and such others. A. E. mounts his horse, seemingly to keep the luncheon engagement, but the horse proves to be a hobby horse. Jehu-like he gallops away all over town. No one can stop him, not even Rosey, waving a great desideratum at him. He finally lands up in Mabel's place. Mabel is only a bookseller who charms him with a volume bearing a rare imprint. Rosey is disappointed as host and as rival bookseller. What Mrs. Newton said at the end of the adventure is not stated.

1924. Stern, Gladys G. *Tents of Israel*.^{102c}

Tents of Israel, published in this country as *The matriarch*,^{102d} followed by *A deputy was king* (1926), *Mosaic* (1930), and *Shining and free* (1935),^{102e} constitute G. B. Stern's Forsyte-like saga of her international family, Jewish only in origin but not in manners and outlook. Together they form the chronicle of the Rakonitz, Czelovar, Bettelheim and Weinberg clans.^{102f} The author reveals these family chronicles to be "half truth, half invention . . . written around the personality of her great-aunt, the Matriarch,"^{102g} Anastasia Rakonitz, whom her rebellious author-niece started out to curse but remained to bless. *The matriarch* was dramatized in London, May 8, 1929, and New York, March 18, 1930, with Mrs. Pat-

^{102c} Reviewed by Louis Golding in *Jewish guardian*, London, 1926, v. 8, Dec. 3, 1926, p. 13-14 (reprinted in *Jewish exponent*, Philadelphia, v. 80, Aug. 19, 1927, p. 8); and by Richard Church in *Spectator*, London, 1924, v. 133, p. 468.

^{102d} Reviewed in *B'nai B'rith magazine*, 1925, v. 39, p. 249; and by Philip Guedalla in *Menorah journal*, New York, 1925, v. 11, p. 204-205.

^{102e} Reviewed by Edith H. Walton in *New York Times book review*, March 10, 1935, p. 7.

^{102f} Which of these family names is historical and which fictitious it is hard to tell.

^{102g} See her Preface in her *The matriarch chronicles*, New York, 1936, which is a reprinting of all her four Rakonitz novels, p. v-xxxi; and her *Monogram*, p. 53.

rick Campbell and Constance Collier respectively in the title-rôles.^{102h}

1925. Fitzgerald, Francis Scott Key. *The great Gatsby*.

A novel of American post-war days which was dramatized by Owen Davis and successfully produced on the New York stage, Feb. 2, 1926. It contains a character called Meyer Wolfsheim, a cautious and loyal professional gambler. The *New Republic* reviewer identified this Wolfsheim as Arnold Rothstein, 1883-1928, the gambler who was mysteriously killed at a card game in the Park Central Hotel, New York City. The police never learned who killed him. The circumstances surrounding his murder served as the basis of a play, by Mark Linder, under the title *Room 349*, which was staged at the National Theatre, New York, April 22, 1930, with Roy D'Arcy as Harold Stromberg, by which name Rothstein was meant.

1925. Kaufman, George S. *The butter and egg man*.

A play, produced at the Longacre Theatre, New York, Sept. 23, 1925. It had a long stage career here, in England and in France. Robert Middlemass, he who in his Harvard undergraduate days played the rôle of Herzl as Hartwell in Allan Davis' *The promised land* in 1908,¹⁰³ acted the part of Joseph Lehman, a theatrical producer. Lehman is supposed to be Albert Herman, better known as Al Woods of that profession.

1926. Hecht, Ben. *Count Bruga*.

The twins Ben Hecht and Maxwell Bodenheim lampooned and libelled one another in several novels. Hecht attacked first. In his *Count Bruga*,¹⁰⁴ Jules Ganz, later the bogus Count

^{102h} See Mildred E. Fisher, "Drama of high merit," in *American Hebrew*, 1930, v. 126, p. 764.

¹⁰³ See Allan Davis, *supra*, under 1908.

¹⁰⁴ Reviewed by Kenneth Burke in *Books*, v. 2, July 11, 1926, p. 4; by John W. Crawford in *New York Times book review*, May 16, 1926, p. 7; and by Louis Kronenberger in *Saturday review of literature*, 1926, v. 2, p. 854.

Hippolyt Bruga, "insensitive, vain and absurd," is Bodenheim. The latter returned the compliment, before the end of the same year (1926), by including Ben Hecht as Ben Helgin (and himself as Max Oppendorf) in his *Ninth avenue*.¹⁰⁵ He returned to the attack in 1931 in his novel *Duke Herring*,¹⁰⁶ the hero of which is again the "hated" Hecht.¹⁰⁷

1926. Hemingway, Ernest. *The sun also rises*.¹⁰⁸

The subject of Technocracy was very popular in the early years of the late depression. Harold Loeb, author of *Life under technocracy* was one of its main prophets. A decade ago, when Mr. Loeb was one of the American young exiles in France, rumor has it that Hemingway caricatured and pilloried him as Robert Cohen in the present novel. Loeb took exceptional umbrage at being so drawn.¹⁰⁹

1926. Molnar, Ferenc. *The play's the thing*.¹¹⁰

"As in all Molnar's plays the characters are taken from life, in [this play] more so than in any other . . . Mansky is said to be Emmerich Kálmán¹¹¹ . . . Albert Adam, the young composer, is based upon Victor Jacoby. Sandor Turai

¹⁰⁵ See Babette Deutsch in *Books*, v. 3, Dec. 19, 1926, p. 4. Reviewed in *Nation*, New York, 1926, v. 123, p. 696; and in *New York Times book review*, Dec. 12, 1926, p. 39.

¹⁰⁶ Reviewed by Wm. J. Fadiman in *Books*, v. 7, Aug. 9, 1931, p. 12; *New York Times book review*, July 26, 1931, p. 6; and by Basil Davenport in *Saturday review of literature*, v. 8, p. 105.

¹⁰⁷ In 1918 they were friends enough to collaborate in a one-act play, *The master-poisoner*, which is included in Bodenheim's *Minna and myself*, New York, 1918, p. 67-82.

¹⁰⁸ Reviewed by Ernest Boyd in *Independent*, 1926, v. 117, p. 594; *Nation*, New York, v. 123, p. 642; *New republic*, 1926, v. 49, p. 142; and in *Saturday review of literature*, 1926, v. 3, p. 420.

¹⁰⁹ Walbridge, *supra*, quoting Nunnally Johnson.

¹¹⁰ The play's the thing. Adopted from the Hungarian by P. G. Wodehouse. New York: Brentano's [1927].

¹¹¹ See *Encyclopædia Judaica*, IX. 831.

is Molnar himself."¹¹² It was successfully produced at Henry Miller's Theatre, New York, Nov. 3, 1926, with Hubert Bruce as Mansky, Edward Crandall as Adam, and Holbrook Blinn as Turai.

Molnar himself was included as a character by Ernő Vajda, the Hungarian dramatist, in his *The harem*, produced at the Belasco Theatre, New York, Dec. 2, 1924. Petri, the intended Molnar, played by Lennox Pawle, was made up to resemble Molnar. In *The harem*, which is a variant of Molnar's own *The guardsman*, Petri's rôle is that of a silly friend of the family.¹¹³

1927. Hamilton, Cosmo. *Caste*.¹¹⁴

This novel deals with the problem of inter-marriage. Max Lorberstein, a distinguished looking, extremely capable pianist and son of a wealthy and prominent Jew, is in love with Jean Farquhar, member of a distinguished New York gentile family. One reviewer stated that it was based on the love story of Irving Berlin, composer of popular music, and Ellin, daughter of Clarence Mackay, who were married in 1925.¹¹⁵ His first wife, née Goetz, died July 17, 1912, at the age of eighteen. The novel was dramatized and staged at the Mansfield Theatre, New York, Dec. 23, 1927, with Horace Braham as Max Lorberstein.

1927. Shoenfeld, Abraham H. *The joy peddler*.

Glickus, a frequenter at the Prince restaurant (Cafe Monopol on lower Second Avenue, New York City), always with a pair of scissors and a batch of cut clippings on his person, is

¹¹² Walbridge, *supra*, quoting A. W. Pezet in *New York Sun*, Nov. 6, 1926.

¹¹³ Walbridge, *supra*, quoting Alexander Woollcott in the *New York Sun*.

¹¹⁴ Reviewed by F. in *Jewish chronicle*, London, Feb. 3, 1928, p. 13; by Louis Berg in *Menorah journal*, 1927, v. 13, p. 525-527; *New Palestine*, 1927, v. 13, p. 506; *New York Times book review*, Sept. 18, 1927, p. 14, 16; and in *Times literary supplement*, London, 1928, v. 27, p. 81.

¹¹⁵ See S. Dingol, in *The Day*, Dec. 17, 1927, p. 3.

easily identifiable as Abraham S. Freidus, 1867-1923, who nearly thirty years (1894-1923) served as Chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library.¹¹⁶ The identity is made certain by the author's description of the clipper as "a librarian who has twice refused a raise in his salary." Freidus is also mentioned, but not under any given name, by Abraham Cahan in his novel, *The rise of David Levinsky*, 1917. There he is merely called "the official in charge of the Hebrew department" and is described as "a walking library of knowledge . . . a portly man, with a round, youthful face and a baby smile."¹¹⁷ Those who knew him will recognize him instantly.

1928. Brod, Max. *The kingdom of love*.¹¹⁸

The Austrian poet, Franz Kafka, 1883-1924, is Richard Garta of the novel. "Im Roman 'Zauberreich der Liebe' dessen Figur Garta eine dichterische Transposition der Gestalt Kafka's ist."¹¹⁹

1929. Abdullah, Achmed and Faith Baldwin. *Broadway interlude*.

This is one of a trilogy of novels, dealing with life in New York. The main character in it is Grant Thompson and the reviewers regarded it as a satirical and libellous presentation of the late David Belasco, theatrical producer. It was drama-

¹¹⁶ Biographic sketches of A. S. Freidus, by Peter Wiernik, A. S. Sachs, Rebekah Kohut, George A. Kohut and Harry M. Lydenberg, are given in *Studies in Jewish bibliography and related subjects in memory of Abraham Solomon Freidus*, New York, 1929. George A. Kohut, *ibid.*, p. 74, is the source of our information and was pointed out to me by Dr. Joshua Bloch, Freidus' present successor.

¹¹⁷ See Cahan's novel, p. 451-456. It was reviewed by Isaac Goldberg in *New York Call*, Sept. 23, 1917, p. 15; and by K. H. Claghorn in *Survey*, 1917, v. 39, p. 260.

¹¹⁸ Translated by Eric Sutton, London, 1930.

¹¹⁹ See Herlitz u. Kirschner, *Jüdisches Lexikon*, Bd. 3, col. 525. My attention was called to this item and the identification therein by Mr. Abraham Berger, of the Staff of the Jewish Division of the N. Y. P. L.

tized and staged at the Forrest Theatre, New York, April 19, 1934, with Robert E. Keane as Thompson.

1929. McMorrow, Thomas. *The sinister history of Ambrose Hinkle*.

Abraham Henry Hummel, b. Boston, 1850, better known as Abe Hummel, a noted criminal and theatrical lawyer of his day, who wound up his career in a way which did not shed much glory upon himself and died later abroad in semi-exile, is the hero of this novel. "No one can doubt that under the somewhat thin disguise of Ambrose Hinkle there masquerades a once famous criminal lawyer who for years practiced in the New York courts . . . The divorce case which proved the undoing of Hinkle is strongly reminiscent of the famous Morse case, and as Hummel was caught in that case, even so in Wilson vs. Pruitt did little Amby meet his Waterloo."¹²⁰

1931. Hecht, Ben. *A Jew in love*.¹²¹

The name given to the central character is Jo Bosshere, a publisher and man about town, whose right name, according to the novel is Abe Nussbaum. He has been identified as Horace Liveright, the publisher.¹²² The *New republic* reviewer states: "the portrait has the accuracy, if not the clarity, of a pathological case history . . . who the model was is not hard to guess."

1931. Pemberton, Murdock, and D. Boehm. *Sing high, sing low*.¹²³

"A play intended to represent the inner workings and

¹²⁰ Walbridge, *supra*, quoting a review from the *Boston Transcript* of April 29, 1929.

¹²¹ Reviewed by Florence H. Britten in *Books*, 1931, v. 7, Feb. 1, 1931, p. 10; *New republic*, 1931, v. 66, p. 27; *New York Times book review*, v. 36, Jan. 25, 1931, p. 8; and *Saturday review of literature*, 1931, v. 7, p. 929.

¹²² Walbridge, *supra*, quoting *Vanity fair*, June 1935, p. 48.

¹²³ *Sing high, sing low*; a comedy in two acts and six scenes. New York; S. French, Inc., cop. 1932.

intrigues, if any, of the Metropolitan Opera House . . . Hugo Winthrop Adams suggests Otto Kahn," 1867-1934.¹²⁴ It was produced at the Sam H. Harris Theatre, New York, Nov. 13, 1931, with Ralph Locke as Adams.

1931. Neumann, Alfred. *The hero; a tale of political murder*.¹²⁵

The central episode inevitably recalls the murder of Walther Rathenau, who was assassinated, June 24, 1922, by the forces opposed to the Republican Germany of that day and its policy of understanding with the Allied powers.

1931. Saunders, Lawrence. *The columnist murder*.

Tommy Twitchell, the columnist concerned, gets his mellifluous name from Walter Winchell, the columnist of the *Daily mirror* (New York), movie actor and radio broadcaster.¹²⁶

1932. Hecht, Ben and Charles MacArthur. *Twentieth century*.

A play about theatrical production promotion, produced at the Broadhurst Theatre, New York, Dec. 29, 1932. The characters are for the most part easily recognizable. Oscar Jaffe, played by Moffat Johnston, has been considered by some to be a composite picture of Morris Gest, the *entrepreneur* of spectacular stage productions, and his father-in-law, the late David Belasco.¹²⁷ By others, Jaffe was taken to be a composite picture of Jed Harris and Morris Gest.¹²⁸

1932. Oppenheimer, George. *Here today*.

Produced at the Ethel Barrymore Theatre, New York, Sept. 6, 1932. "Central character is supposed to be Mary Hilliard,

¹²⁴ Walbridge, *supra*.

¹²⁵ Reviewed in *New republic*, 1931, v. 68, p. 134-135; and in *Times literary supplement*, London, 1931, v. 30, p. 608.

¹²⁶ Walbridge, *supra*.

¹²⁷ See John Mason Brown in *New York Evening Post*, March 29, 1933.

¹²⁸ See *Variety*, Jan. 3, 1933, p. 88.

an actress, [acted by Ruth Gordon] but the personality really suggested is that of Dorothy [(Rothschild)] Parker, brilliant, temperamental novelist."¹²⁹

1932. Zolotkoff, Leon. *From Vilna to Hollywood*.^{129a}

In chapters 23 and 24 is introduced Dr. Caspoff, "the secretary of the largest sanatorium in Denver." Dr. Caspoff is obviously Dr. Charles David Spivak,^{129b} 1861-1927, physician, author, editor, bibliographer and linguist, who came to the United States in 1882. His chief fame is that of founder of the Jewish Consumptive Relief Society, a national Jewish organization which ministers to tubercular patients. A number of its sanatoria is located at Spivak, Colo., named after C. D. Spivak.

1933. [Williamson, Henry.] *The gold falcon; or, The haggard of love, being the adventures of Manfred* . . .

Sherston Savage is Siegfried Sassoon, the poet; Jacob Liverong is Horace Liveright, the publisher.¹³⁰ Mocksy is the late Samuel Lionel Rothafel, 1882-1936, generally known as Roxy.

1933. Zweig, Arnold. *De Vriendt goes home*.¹³¹

Describes the conditions in Palestine in 1929. De Vriendt is Jakob Israel De Haan, 1881-1924, a Dutch Jew, super-patriot and ultra-Orthodox, poet and economist, who was murdered, June 30, 1924, under mysterious circumstances. The criminal was never brought to trial.

¹²⁹ See *Variety*, New York, v. 108, Sept. 13, 1932, p. 72; Reviewed also by Eugene Burr in *Billboard*, Cincinnati, v. 44, Sept. 17, 1932, p. 19; and by Carl Carmer in *Theatre arts monthly*, v. 16, Dec. 1932, p. 867-868. The same identity is suggested by John Mason Brown.

^{129a} Reviewed in *Jewish quarterly review*, new ser., v. 23, p. 327.

^{129b} See biographic sketch of him in *Dictionary of American biography*.

¹³⁰ Walbridge, *supra*, in *Saturday review of literature*.

¹³¹ Reviewed in *Jewish chronicle*, Feb. 23, 1934, p. 21-22; and by Gertrude Diamant in *Nation*, New York, 1934, v. 138, p. 49-50.

1934. Asch, Shalom. *Salvation*.¹³²

The hero of this novel, Yehiel "the Psalm Jew," is based on Yehiel Meir (Lipshitz) Gastininer, a famous Chassidic rabbi, disciple of the rabbi of Kotzk, who ministered to the community of the Polish town Gastinin, near Kutno, the birth-place of the novelist Asch. Rabbi Yehiel died Shebat 21, 5648 (1888) and Asch in his youth undoubtedly heard the many stories that were current then about the piety, saintliness and scholarship of this rabbi.¹³³

1934. Frank, Waldo D. *The death and birth of David Markand*.¹³⁴

A powerful novel of a typical American who is "revealed in the death of the old world and the birth of a new." In *White's conspectus of American biography*¹³⁵ the assertion is made that Daniel De Leon,¹³⁶ the Socialist propagandist and

¹³² Reviewed by Isaac Goldberg in *B'nai B'rith magazine*, 1934, v. 49, p. 32; by Mortimer J. Cohen in *Jewish exponent*, v. 95, Oct. 26, 1934, p. 1, 8; by Norbert Guterman in *New republic*, 1935, v. 82, p. 25; by Gertrude Diamant in *New York World-Telegram*, Sept. 27, 1934, p. 25; by Eda Lou Walton in *Books*, Sept. 23, 1934, p. 2; and in *Times literary supplement*, 1934, v. 33, p. 618.

¹³³ These details, and many more, were supplied me by Mr. Isaac Rivkind, who has them from his friend M. Rosenblum, a student of Chassidic lore. For specimens of Rabbi Yehiel's "sayings," see Louis I. Newman, *The Hasidic anthology*, New York, 1934 (indexed on p. 565).

¹³⁴ Reviewed by Fred T. Marsh in *Books*, v. 11, Oct. 7, 1934, p. 5; by Lionel Abel in *Nation, New York*, v. 139, p. 542-543; by Malcolm Cowley in *New republic*, 1934, v. 80, p. 279-280; and by N. L. Rothman in *Saturday review of literature*, 1934, v. 11, p. 277.

¹³⁵ New York, 1937, in the section "Americans in fiction, poetry and the drama," p. 264. *Ibid.*, p. 265, the further statement is made that Daniel Frohman, the surviving member of the famous trio of brothers, is a character in Richard Harding Davis' *Soldiers of fortune* (1897). I could establish no such possible identification with any of the characters.

¹³⁶ b. Curaçao, 1852, came to U. S. A., 1874, d. 1914. See the biographic sketch of him in *Dictionary of American biography*.

author, is one of the characters. Under what name he appears there is not stated, but John Byrnes is probably meant.

1934. Wexley, John. *They shall not die.*^{136a}

This play, although disclaimed as such by the author, is in effect a dramatization of the trial of the negro youngsters accused of rape at Scottsboro, Ala. It was staged by the Theatre Guild at the Royale Theatre, New York, Feb. 21, 1934. The rôle of Nathan G. Rubin, attorney for the defense, played by Claude Rains, is obviously based on him who served in that capacity, Samuel S. Leibowitz, of the New York bar.

1936. Greene, Ward. *Death in the deep South; a novel about murder.*^{136b}

This is the story of a murder in a southern city, followed by the conviction, pardon and lynching of the supposed culprit. Though the defendant therein is not a Jew, it is obvious that the main facts are taken from the historic case of Leo Frank, 1913-1915. To an already devastating plot, the author added bits from other famous murder cases. The victim, Mary Phagan, is called Mary Clay and Leo Frank is named Robert Hale, a northern school teacher.

1936. Singer, Israel J. *The brothers Ashkenazi.*¹³⁷

Simchah Meyer, the ruthless *entrepreneur*, one of the brothers, is Asher (Oskar) Kon, famous textile manufacturer

^{136a} This play is not printed, but extracts from the text, with an accompanying synopsis of the plot, are reproduced in *Best plays of 1933-34*, New York, 1934, p. 202-255.

^{136b} Reviewed by Lyle Saxon in *Books*, v. 13, Oct. 25, 1936, p. 6; Samuel Sillen in *Nation*, New York, 1936, v. 143, p. 582-583; Leigh White in *New republic*, 1936, v. 89, p. 224; E. C. Beckwith in *New York Times book review*, Oct. 18, 1936, p. 12; and Wm. Rose Benét in *Saturday review of literature*, v. 14, Oct. 17, 1936, p. 12. See also C. P. Connolly, *The truth about the Frank case*, New York [1915], 95 p.

¹³⁷ Reviewed by S. Niger in *Zukunft*, New York, 1936, v. 41, p. 806-813.

of the city of Lodz, Poland, styled the Henry Ford of Poland, author of *Maadane melech* (a commentary on Proverbs), Lodz, 1938. It was dramatized successfully by the Yiddish Art Theatre of New York, Sept. 20, 1937, with Maurice Schwartz in the rôle of Simchah Meyer.

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NOTES.

BARNARD SOLOMON, PHILADELPHIA, 1778.

Willard O. Mishoff in "Business in Philadelphia during the British occupation 1777-1778,"¹ quoting the *Philadelphia Ledger* of February 4, 1778, states: "the sudden disappearance of one Jewish shop-keeper, Barnard Solomon, who sold rum without a license, brought forth the offer of a five-guinea reward for information leading to his apprehension." The identity of this Barnard Solomon has not been ascertained.

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HEBREW INSTRUCTION IN PHILADELPHIA, 1793.

The following is from *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, of Tuesday, June 4, 1793.

"HEBREW LANGUAGE.

On Monday, June 3d, at 6 o'clock in the Evening, in the Friends' Grammar School Room, South Fourth Street, near the Corner of Chestnut Street, will be Opened, by J. M. Ray, from Edinburgh, lately from Paris, a Hebrew Class, with preliminary Disquisitions into the nature, origin and progress of Languages—And, during the Course, as in his former Practice, will be given, a comparative View of the Eastern, the Western, and the Modern Languages, Philosophy, Oratory and Poetry, as the Hebrew, Chandee, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Arabic, Persian, the Greek and Latin, the English, French, &c. Modern Languages.

N. B. The Hebrew, being scientific, describes the Nature of Things; it is the Key to the Phraseology of the New Testament, as well as the Old, and to Pagan Theology and Mythology and all Antiquities, and is the easiest Language to learn, so that mere English Scholars acquire it in a few months.

May 31"

CYRUS ADLER.

DAVID LONGWORTH, AMERICAN PUBLISHER, FRIEND OF THE JEWS.

Religious and racial intolerance of the European type never assumed, even in early days, its characteristic acerbity in that portion

¹ *Pennsylvania magazine of history*, April 1937, v. 61, p. 169.

of America which is now the United States. Many instances of the truth of this assertion can be cited from our *Publications*. This essential tolerance and fair-mindedness on the part of Americans have been demonstrated again and again. A further instance of it, dating from the early part of the last century, has come to our attention and we deem it worthy of being recorded.

Under the pseudonym Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella, the English poet Robert Southey, 1774-1840, published in 1807 a three-volume work called *Letters from England; translated from the Spanish*. It was an account of general conditions in England at that time, by a supposed traveller from Spain. Letter 63 is called *Jews in England*, and its anti-Jewish bias is evident from the concluding sentence: "it [England] is the heaven of the Jews,—alas, they have no other heaven to expect!" The book achieved immediate popularity. No less than five editions were issued up to 1814; a French translation, in 1817, and a German, by J. A. Bergk, from the French, in 1818. The New York Public Library owns three American editions: New York: David Longworth, at the Shakspeare Gallery, 1808, 2 volumes; Philadelphia: Benjamin Warner [the firm of which, through Moses Polock ("Uncle Moses," 1817-1903), the present Rosenbach Company of Philadelphia and New York is the successor], 1818, 2 volumes; and New York: George Dearborn, 1836.

Our interest is with the first American edition of 1808, which the "American editor" annotated, additionally to the notes given by Southey, and particularly with two such annotations. This edition was brought to my attention by Mr. Isaac Rivkind. The American editions of 1818 and 1836 do not contain these additional annotations. Southey had occasion to write as follows: "Any person may be excused from serving as church officer [in England] if he chooses to pay a fine. Not long ago a parish in London nominated a Jew for the sake of getting his release-money. He however, was determined to disappoint them by taking the situation." To this passage, a note was added, in the New York 1808, edition, signed "Am. Ed." which stated: "A similar circumstance took place in New-York previous to the Revolution. A respectable Jew was so unfortunate as to incur the ill will of an influential neighbor who, in resentment, proposed him as a candidate, and actually obtained his election to the office of constable—in vain he endeavored to procure his discharge. 'Well' said he, 'I will do my duty then.' Sunday came; he seated himself in front of his house. A servant passed with a burden—he took it from him—another went to the pump for water—he took the bucket

from him, ordered him home, saying 'I will permit no Sabbath breaking while it is my duty to prevent it.' A consultation took place and a complaint entered against him in court, where he so well justified himself that the award favored him.—He was never again elected constable.²

"At that period, in conformity to European prejudices, it was customary to treat the individuals of this scattered nation with utter contempt, and on all occasions to insult them:—since then, these prejudices have gradually worn off until scarce a vestige remains. We now rejoice in their prosperity, and are pleased to see them assume that respectable rank in society, to which many of them, for their virtues, are so eminently entitled. In our principle [sic] cities these associate in the most respectable circles—their females are most amiable among the amiable—their young men in loftiness of mind equal to the most noble; despising all meanness. In charity—unequaled in the giving of alms.—Generosity with them is not only habitual but constitutional. These remarks are the consequences of long intimacy with some, and a close observation of them generally."³

To another passage by Southey about clipping of the coin, in which Jews were supposed to be involved, the "Am. Ed." added the following note: "Don Manuel appears to be as much prejudiced against the Jews as he is against the Portugeuze. We cannot contravert the truth of his account of them [the Jews]: it may be true; but it is very difficult for one who has only seen them in America to believe him—it bears no resemblance to them of this country."⁴

Who was this "Am. Ed." who defended the Jews with evident feeling and whose "remarks are the consequence of long intimacy with some, and a close observation of them generally"? His identity will probably never be established with absolute certainty. There is every reason to believe, however, that he was David Longworth, the publisher himself of the New York, 1808, edition. Dr. R. W. G. Vail, the learned librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, to whom I turned for an opinion, is of the same mind.

Our qualified identification is supported by certain circumstantial evidence. The year 1808 which saw the publication of Southey's *Letters* by Longworth was the one in which Longworth also pub-

² Who this Jewish official may have been is not definitely known. A similar story is told about Jacob Hays, the New York constable, but the dates do not tally.

³ Southey's *Letters*, New York, 1808, v. 2, p. 151.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

lished M. M. Noah's first play, *The fortress of Sorrento*.⁵ Longworth, moreover, was more than a publisher to Noah. Didn't Noah, in payment for the manuscript of his play, accept from Longworth, in lieu of cash, copies of all the plays which that publisher had printed up to that time?⁶ And does not this argue an intimacy between the two, if not an actual friendship? Noah's interest in things Jewish was known to all and probably also to Longworth, for Noah never hid this interest. It is not far fetched, therefore, to suppose a number of possibilities. Perhaps Longworth showed Southey's *Letters* to his Jewish literary friend. Perhaps Noah suggested to him that he ought not let the anti-Jewish references go unrefuted. Perhaps Longworth, unsolicited, was prompted to declare his pro-Jewish sentiments in the manner he did, with Noah in mind. Of one thing we can be certain. Longworth at that time knew Noah and knew him well. When he spoke, therefore, in the annotations, of his Jewish acquaintances, he spoke the truth.

The known facts about Longworth are few. In 1797 he established the *American Almanack*, edited and published it. Under varying names (*Longworth's New York Register*, *Register and Director*, or *New York City Directory*), it continued to be issued by him or his firm's successors till 1842/43. His name appears as the publisher of it for the last time in the issue of 1817/18, and as a resident of New York, for the last time, in the issue of 1821/22, which was printed in June 1821. He probably died soon after that date, or else moved out of the city. In 1805 he "made maps" for the City of New York. He is further, and still better, known as the publisher and purveyor of English and American plays during the first two

⁵ See Rosenbach Bibliography, p. 136, item 148. In 1819, Longworth, under the same imprint, published another play of Noah, *She would be a soldier; or, The plains of Chippewa*. See Rosenbach Bibliography, p. 185, item 204.

⁶ When Dunlap prepared his *History of the American theatre*, Noah, at Dunlap's request, sent him an account of his dramatic writings. Part of this account relates to Longworth. Noah writes: "About his time I ventured to attempt a little melo-drama, under the title *The Fortress of Sorrento*, which, not having money enough to pay for printing, nor sufficient influence to have acted, I thrust the manuscript in my pocket, and having occasion to visit New-York, I called in at David Longworth's Dramatic Repository one day, spoke of the little piece and struck a bargain with him, by giving him the manuscript in return for a copy of every play he had published, which at once furnished me with a tolerably large dramatic collection. I believe the play was never performed, and I was almost ashamed to own it; but it was my first regular attempt at dramatic composition." See William Dunlap, *History of the American theatre*, New York, 1832, p. 382; reprinted by G. A. Kohut in *Publications*, no. 6, p. 118.

decades of the last century. The imprint *Published by David Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery* is very familiar to the students of the drama in this country for that period. The Shakspeare-Gallery which he conducted was an adjunct to his publishing and bookselling activities and consisted mostly of prints from Shakespearean scenes. On May 24, 1800, he advertised extensively, under the firm name of Longworth & Wheeler, an exhibition of celebrated prints and paintings, which was to take place at "No. 11 Park Street, five doors south of the [Park Street] Theatre." Stokes thinks that the prints advertised were probably those published, between 1790 and 1804, by John and Josiah Boydell, in their *London Gallery of Fashion*, from paintings by British artists, illustrative of Shakespearean scenes.⁷

And so, in gratefulness, we part from our publisher friend, until we find more information about him.

E. D. COLEMAN.

THE JEWISH DEAD DURING THE 1793 YELLOW FEVER.

In 1793, the year when the yellow fever raged in the cities of the Atlantic seaboard, Matthew Carey published, in Philadelphia, his "A short account of the malignant fever lately prevalent in Philadelphia, with a statement of the proceedings that took place on the subject in different parts of the United States." A second edition appeared, Nov. 23, 1793; a third edition, improved, in two slightly varying (the variations are on p. viii) issues, Nov. 30, 1793; a fourth edition, improved, Jan. 16, 1794; and a German translation, in 1794. The Society owns, in the Rosenbach collection, a copy of the third edition.

In the second edition, a "List of of all the burials in the several grave yards of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, as taken from the books by Clergymen, Sextons & c. from August 1st to November 9, 1793" is given. The List is tabulated by days and by respective denominations of the dead. The column "Jews" is reported "returned in gross," meaning that no report was received as to the exact day

⁷ See I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, v. 5, p. 1377, and v. 6, p. 470. See also *Historical magazine and notes and queries*, 1867, series 2, v. 1, p. 105-108; and Henry B. Dawson, *Old New York revived*, [Morrisania ? 1867?] p. 79-88, where the Gallery is described and its 1802 Catalogue of thirty paintings is reproduced. The catalogue shows that not all the prints were of Shakespearean scenes; a number of historical and Biblical scenes are also listed.

when the Jewish death occurred. In the recapitulation, 2 Jewish deaths are recorded, out of a total of 4031. In the third edition, the List is reprinted and two recapitulations are given, one of which records 3 Jewish deaths and another (based on the same figures) gives only 2 Jewish deaths. At the end is a 16-page Addendum, and on p. 16 is stated: "Jews: David Franks, Moses Homberg, Rachel Hart."

In the fourth edition, the information about the Philadelphia dead is repeated and an additional "List of the names of the persons who died in Philadelphia, or in different parts of the Union, after their departure from this city, from August 1st, to the middle of December, 1793" is given. This edition, therefore, not only includes the dead of former Philadelphians in cities other than Philadelphia but also extends the period covered by the mortality reports to five weeks additionally. From this last, enlarged list, we learn about five more Jewish deaths outside of Philadelphia (the names of these other cities are not given), in addition to three names given for Philadelphia. These five are: Jacob Hays (p. 133); Jacob Franks's wife and David S. Franks, assistant cashier of the U. S. Bank (p. 134); and Moses Levy's girl and Thomas Levy's wife (p. 144).

The death of David Franks, son of Jacob Franks, during the 1793 yellow fever, has already been recorded in the *Publications*.⁸ The dates of the deaths of the others has not been recorded.

Of Moses Homberg little is known excepting that he was an inn-keeper. The Hombergs are mentioned by David Nassy of Surinam as belonging to "the best society" of Philadelphia.⁹ Moses Hombertz is mentioned as a charity donor in the lists of Shearith Israel, New York, for March 27, 1787, and again, as Moses Homberg, as a donor for the period of Dec. 1787-Jan. 1788.¹⁰

Rachel Hart was the wife of Myer Hart of Easton, Pa., who returned to Philadelphia in 1782 and lived there till about 1795, the approximate year of his death.¹¹

The identity of Jacob Hays and Jacob Franks's wife we have so far not been able to establish. The wife of the likely Jacob Franks was Bilha Abigail, daughter of Moses Levy, who married him in 1719, but she died about 1750.¹² Jacob Franks died in 1769. Nor do we know

⁸ See M. Jastrow, *Publications*, no. 1, p. 56, who had it from Carey; no. 4, p. 199 (where the date is given "about 1795"); and note 4 in no. 18, p. 214.

⁹ See Sigmund Seeligmann, "David Nassy of Surinam and his 'Lettre politico-theologico-morale sur les Juifs,'" in *Publications*, no. 22, p. 34-35.

¹⁰ *Publications*, no. 27, p. 42, 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, no. 8, p. 127, 130.

¹² See N. Taylor Phillips, in *Publications*, no. 4, p. 190, 197, 199.

who is meant by Moses Levy's girl and Thomas Levy's wife. The name Thomas Levy is not mentioned in the *Publications*. The given name Thomas would have raised a doubt as to his Jewishness altogether, despite the surname. The inclusion of his name by Carey, however, in the present instance, establishes his racial origin.

The last recorded date in the life of David S. Franks known to us is his appeal, Feb. 8, 1790, to Thomas Jefferson, the then Secretary of State, for an appointment to some governmental office. Nothing is heard about him after that time. The present record by Carey definitely establishes the date of his decease, sometime during the period of Aug. 1-Dec. 15, 1793.

E. D. C.

A NEW YORK PREMIÈRE OF HERZL IN 1885.

In 1885 Theodor Herzl was still the *dramaturg* and *feuilletonist*. The *Judenschmerz* had not yet wholly taken possession of him. Far off America meant probably little to him. That year, Friedrich Mitterwurzer (1844-1897), a noted German actor, long connected with the Vienna Burgtheater, visited this country. On Nov. 23rd he made his first appearance at the Star Theatre, Broadway & 13th Street, New York, predecessor of the later and better known Irving Place Theatre, home of German drama in New York City during the last decades of the 19th, and the first fourteen years of the present, century. For his début he chose a number of one-acters. One of these was by Herzl, never acted before. The name of the piece was *Tabarin*, based upon a sketch by Catulle Mendès, who consented to its dramatization by Herzl. It is a story of an actor-clown who, unexpectedly finding his wife, Francisquine, with her lover, stabs her to death and then kills himself. Mitterwurzer acted the title-rôle and Fraulein Hagedorn, a member of his troupe, played Francisquine.

No record of this performance can be found in the New York newspapers or the periodicals which then reported stage productions, but the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* of Nov. 24th¹³ reviewed it at length and devoted two columns to it again in its *Sonntagsblatt* of Nov. 29th.¹⁴ The name of Herzl as author is nowhere mentioned there. It is merely described as "ein aus dem Französischen entnommenes Drama . . . sehr geschickt aufgebaut und von starker Wirk-

¹³ p. 8, col. 5.

¹⁴ p. 4, col. 2-3.

ung." Of Mitterwurzer it said: "Donnernder Beifall und dreimaliger Hervorruf lohnten den Künstler."

As is to be expected, an exchange of letters followed between Mitterwurzer in New York and Herzl in Paris. In one of them, dated April 16, 1886, Mitterwurzer stated: "Das Stückchen [*Tabarin*] hat gefallen, ist aber zu kurz, um einen tieferen Eindruck zu erzielen," and bids him write "ein anderes Lustspiel."

Herzl apparently thought well of his *Tabarin*. He returned to it almost ten years later, revised it a bit, and prevailed upon his friend Max Burckhard (1854-1912) to stage it anew at the Vienna Burgtheater, of which he was Direktor, on May 2, 1895. Mitterwurzer again sustained the part of Tabarin. It was given there nine times,—the last time on June 19, 1896.¹⁵

E. D. C.

MOSES MICHAEL HAYS.

In 1769 Moses Michael Hays, described as a watchmaker, was admitted a freeman in the City of New York. At the outbreak of the Revolution he came to Boston. It is well known that during the intervening period he was engaged in business in Newport, R. I. But there has always been a strange hiatus in the record of his mercantile activities in that city. We now offer additional information concerning this period of his activities. It appears, from a record of the year 1771 of the Superior Court of Newport County, that he had been in partnership with Myer Polock of the well known family of that name living in that city and that they both became financially embarrassed and were obliged to apply to the Court for relief as insolvent debtors. The record is as follows:

COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND

BE IT REMEMBERED That on the fifteenth day of September, A. D. 1771, Before Metcalf Bowler, Esq. one of the Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature, in and throughout the Colony of Rhode Island and in their proper Persons appeared Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock of Newport aforesaid Merchants in Company and preferred their Petition in the Words:—Colony of Rhode Island, To the Honorable the Justice of his Majesty's Superior Court of Judicature to be Specially convened and holden at Newport in the Colony aforesaid, The Petition of Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock of Newport aforesaid Merchants in Company humbly sheweth, That by various Loses at Sea and other inevitable mis-

¹⁵ The stage history of *Tabarin*, together with the correspondence between Herzl and Mitterwurzer and Herzl and Burckhard, is given in Josef Fränkel, *Theodor Herzl, des Schöpfers erstes Wollen*, Wien, 1934, p. 59-78.

fortunes they are rendered insolvent Debtors, confined in Prison, and therefore, humbly pray your honour that they as a company and each in his private character, may be admitted to receive and take the Benefit of an Act passed by the General Assembly of said Colony at their Session on the third Monday in August, A. D. 1771, entitled "An Act for the relief of insolvent Debtors" upon the conditions and regulations in the said Act mentioned, with which they are writing honourably and faithfully to comply, And they as in duty bound ever pray, And at the same time therewith the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock exhibited an Inventory or Account of their Estate and Estates, and also a list of their Creditors with the Place of their abode, and of the Sums due to them respectively whereupon the said Metcalf Bowler, tendered unto the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock the Oath prescribed by Law to be taken by Insolvent Debtors praying leave to surrender all their Estates real and personal for the use of their Creditors, and they the said Moses and Myer as Merchants in Company and each in his private character took the same and otherways complied with the Regulations in said Act mentioned and thereupon the said Metcalf Bowler directed his Letters mandatory in writing under his bond to John Grelia, Jr. and of the Clerks of the Court aforesaid in these words:

"Newport, Ss. To John Grelia, Jr., Esq. Clerk of the Superior Court of Judicature in said County of Newport GREETING: Whereas Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock of Newport aforesaid merchants in Company and each in his private character hath this day presented unto me the Subscriber and of the Justices of said Court the Petition setting forth that they are insolvent Debtors and praying the relief extended to such Debtors by a law of this Colony, and having exhibited an Inventory of their Estate together with a List of their Creditors and taken a Oath by Law prescribed, all which is herewith transmitted, to put the same on file in your said Office, you are therefore ordered within ten days or as soon as may be to cause the same to be published by an Advertisement in the Newport, Providence, Massachusetts and New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia Newspapers, and therein notify the Creditors of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock that they if they think fit be and appear by themselves or their Attornies before the Justices of said Court at the Colony House at Newport aforesaid on Monday the fifteenth Day of December next and ascertain their Demands or otherwise to show cause, if any they have, why the Prayer of said Petition should not be granted, IN OBEDIENCE whereto the said John Grelia, Jr. caused to be advertised and publicly make known all and singular the Matters and Things in Manner and Form and in the several public newspapers as was commanded him, And now upon Monday the fifteenth day of December in the twelfth year of his Majesty's Reign George the third by the Grace of God King of Great Britain A. D. 1771, being the Day appointed by the said Metcalf Bowler, in and by his Letters mandatory aforesaid whereof public notice and Advertisement hath been duly made and for all the Creditors of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock to appear and ascertain their respective Demands and so forth as aforesaid the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock at the Colony House in Newport aforesaid James Helme, Metcalf Bowler and Benoni Hall, Esqs., Justices of the Court there present prefer their Petition, as by Law they may, and pray the writ of the Lord the now King to the Sheriff of the County

aforesaid to be directed commanding him the Bodies of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock by whatever names they may be charged in the prison at Newport under his custody detained together with the Day and Cause of the Caption and Detention of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock he have before the Justices of the Superior Court aforesaid at the Colony House in Newport aforesaid immediately after the receipt of the same writ to do and receive what the Justices of the Court aforesaid shall then and there concerning them in this behalf and to have that writ, Therefore, it is command the Sheriff that the Bodies of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock, merchants, in the Prison under his custody detained as tis said together with the Day and Cause of their being taken and detained by whatever names the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock shall be charged in the same, he have under safe and secure conduct before the Justices of the Court aforesaid at the Colony House in Newport aforesaid immediately, to do and receive those Things which the same Justices shall here consider concerning him in this behalf, And afterwards upon the fifteenth day of December aforesaid in the year aforesaid here cometh the Sheriff aforesaid namely Walter Chaloner, Esq. and hath with him here in Court the Bodies of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock together with the writ of the Lord the King wherein he was commanded as aforesaid and in Open Court saith, "That he hath now in Court the Bodies of Moses Michael Hayes and Myer Polock and finds Myer Polock stands committed by the Prison Book March 9th, 1771, on Execution of the Suit of Jacob Watson and John Murray of the City of New York Merchants, Debt £ 115-4-9 Sterling, Cost of Fees £ 5-5- lawful money, and on divers other Executions to a large amount, also finds Moses M. Hayes committed on the above Execution April 6th, 1771 and on divers other Executions to a large amount as Debtors, they are not charged with any criminal matter or Debt due to the Crown," Wherefore, Proclamation is here made for all the Creditors of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock to come into Court and ascertain their respective Demands and nominate and appoint Commissioners or Assignees or otherwise show Cause if any they have why the Prayer of said Petition shall not be granted, But because the Court will be further advised of and upon the Premises as well the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock as their Creditors are adjourned for further hearing and consideration to the seventeenth day of December, instant, And here afterwards upon the seventeenth day of December in the year aforesaid at the Colony House in Newport aforesaid being the Time and Place adjourned to Before Stephen Hopkins, Esq., Chief Justice, James Helme, Metcalf Bowler, Benoni Hall and Stephen Potter, Esqs., Justices of the Court aforesaid, cometh the Sheriff aforesaid, namely Walter Chaloner, Esq. and hath here the Bodies of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock, wherefore Proclamation is here again made and repeated in Manner and Form aforesaid for all the Creditors of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock to come into Court and ascertain their respective Demands and nominate and appoint Commissioners and Assignees or otherwise show cause if any why the Prayer of said Petition shall not be granted; And thereupon in open court here cometh Jonas S. Redwood, William Redwood, Jr., Abraham Redwood, Jr., Samuel Wirkham, Samuel Whitehorne, Henry Hunter, James Frost, James Frost for Miller Frost Estate, Aaron Lopez, Peter Mumford for Philip Demorag, Edward Thurston, Solomon Southwick, Mathew Rights on behalf of Thomas Durfee, Jonathan Hill, Jonathan

Stoddard, John Marren, Thomas Richardson, Ebenezer Richardson, Thomas Herors, Francis Brinley, Joshua Amy, Jr. for his Father Joshua Amy, William Tweedy, Yeates & Cahoon, William Minturn, William Mumford, Jr., Benjamin King, Samuel King, John Miller, Jonathan Marsh, Joseph Hammond, Jr., Clothier Pierce, Jr., Gould Marsh, Joseph Burrill, Thomas Helme, John Helme, Richard Bush, Charles Cozzens, William Toggart, Joseph Durfee, William Grinnell, Job Gardner, James Taylor, Simon Pease for himself, Charles McEvers and Robert Smith, Joseph Pinto for Manuel Myers, Francis Polock, A[E?]sther Polock, Simon Newton, Stephen Tripp, Constant Bowen, John Bowen, Nathaniel Clarke, Constant Wilbor, James and Robert Carter, Samuel Simpson, John Newton, Thomas Dunton, William Gardner, Daniel Dunham, Benjamin Winsor, Jeremiah Clarke by their attornies whose several Demands are here ascertained and it appeareth to this Court upon Examination that the major Part of the Creditors of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock in number and value now present either in person or by their Attornies to wit the aforementioned Jonas S. Redwood and others by their Attornies are ready and actually do join the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock in the prayer of their petition aforesaid, therefore, in open Court here tendered unto the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock the Oath by Law prescribed who take the same, And upon their Oath in the presence of Almighty God, swear, protest and declare that the Inventory by them presented contains a true, honest and perfect Inventory and Account, of all their Estate both real and personal which they now have, or may, or can, or ought to have in Possession, Reversion or Remainder, that they know of or remember, that the List here exhibited is a true and perfect List of all their Creditors, and of the several sums due to them, respectively, to the best of their Knowledge: That they have not directly or indirectly by themselves or others, made any Deed or Deeds, Gift or Gifts, Grant or Grants, or any other Conveyance or Conveyances, whatsoever, whereby to conceal from or defraud their Creditors of any the least part of their Estate, real or personal, or fraudulently to enable any Person to appear as their Creditors, for the obtaining a Grant of their Petition, And that if any Thing be omitted in the Inventory or Account, by them now exhibited, they will add the same, and cause the same to be delivered up, to and for the use and Benefit of their Creditors, WHEREFORE, it is considered that the Prayer of the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock Petition be and the same is hereby granted, and that they as Merchants in Company and each in his private character are admitted to receive and take the benefit of the Act passed by the General Assembly of the Colony aforesaid at their Session on the third Monday in August, A. D. 1771, entitled "An Act for the relief of insolvent Debtors," And the majority of said Creditors in Number and Value here present to wit: Jonas S. Redwood and others aforementioned by their Attornies duly and lawfully made and constituted pray they may proceed to nominate and appoint three good men as Commissioners or Assignees, and it is granted them and thereupon Walter Chaloner, John Warren and William Brooks Simpson, all of Newport aforesaid Gentlemen, are nominated and appointed as Commissioners or Assignees by the Supplicants aforesaid, to whom the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock forthwith here in open court make, seal and deliver full, perfect and absolute Assignment, Deed and Conveyance of all their estate both real and personal, whether by them possessed, held and enjoyed, in Company or Separately in their private characters,

so as to vest in said Commissioners or Assignees a full, free, clear and absolute Estate to and for the Use and Benefit of all their Creditors, And the said Walter Chaloner, John Warren and William Brooks Simpson, Commissioners or Assignees so nominated and appointed as aforesaid being called, come in their proper Persons here in open Court and upon their Oath do solemnly and sincerely swear, protest, declare and pay, that they will honestly and faithfully behave, and duly perform the Trust to them committed, Therefore it is commanded the Sheriff of the County of Newport that he discharge and let the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock at Liberty from the Prison, aforesaid, In Newport aforesaid, And it is also considered, that the said Moses M. Hayes and Myer Polock be, and hereby they are fully, and perfectly acquitted, released and discharged from all Debts, Duties, Contracts and Demands of every nature and kind whatsoever, that are now outstanding against them, Debts due to the Crown only excepted.

Later Hays evidently undertook to re-establish himself in Newport as a bookseller. Amongst the correspondence from the files of Henry Knox, a well-known Boston bookseller of the period, is the following:¹⁸

"357 NEW PORT, June:21.1773.

"Sir,—I Purpose pursuing the Stationary and Book Selling Business in this Town. My Supplies I have Chiefly from one of the Best Hands in New York. But as I require some articles Daily, I should be glad to have A Correspondence with you for some Articles, as you are so adjacent; My Friend Mr. P. Mumfords Tells me you have Continually a large Assortment. If you Can have Confidence Enough to furnish me with some articles from time to time on the Credit of about Six Months, shall be Glad you would signify the same by return of Mr. Mumford, of whom you can make the Enquiry, you may think necessary and am, Sir, yr. Hble. servt.,

MOSES M. HAYS."

From documents in the Newport Historical Society the following additional information is submitted:

In 1767, while still a resident of New York, Moses M. Hays was engaged in business transactions with Aaron Lopez. Thus, in November of that year he shipped staves to Lopez and received in return 17 casks of spermaceti oil from Newport to sell for Lopez. On November 23, 1769 Moses M. Hays and Meyer Polock entered into an agreement with Cromwell Childs of Newport to have a vessel of white oak built for them, to be finished by June 25, 1770, they to furnish "iron, pitch, tar, oacum, turpentine and gaving" and to pay three pounds, eight shillings, sixpence and three farthings per ton for wood work and three pence half penny per pound for working up the iron. On the same day they assigned the contract to Charles McEvers of New York.

In 1772 Moses M. Hays had his shop on the point near Holmes' Wharf (Newport Mercury, Dec. 2, 1911).

L. M. FRIEDMAN.

¹⁸ Worthington C. Ford, "Henry Knox and the London book-store in Boston, 1771-1774," in *Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings*, v. 61 (1928), p. 261.

EARLY HARTFORD.

In *Connecticut, Public records of the State*,¹⁷ under date of 1780, is the following: "Upon the memorial of Moses Isaacs, a refugee from New York, shewing to this Assembly that he left New York in the year 1776 on account of his attachment to the liberties and independence of America and being desirous of removing to Rhode Island with his family, which consists of a number of small children, that he may be enabled to get into some business whereby to provide for them, prays liberty to transport by water out of this State two barrels of beef, three barrels of flour and ten bushels of corn and rye to Rhode Island, aforesaid, has the memorial on file: Resolved by this assembly, that the memorialist have liberty and liberty is hereby granted to him, to export out of this State by water two barrels of beef, three barrels of flour and ten bushels of corn and rye, to Newport in Rhode Island, the embargo notwithstanding."

In the "List of Families in Hartford with quantity of grain in possession of each," March 9, 1669-70, appear the names of David, a Jew, and Jacob, a Jew.¹⁸ Elsewhere,¹⁹ it appears that this Jacob, the Jew, transported to New York, March 1667-68 "one browne mare with a hole in her off ear and white slit down the face; one black mare with a slitt in the off eare, with a starr in the forehead and a little white on the nose; One Bay mare with fower white feat and a white face."

NEW HAMPSHIRE ITEMS.

Pvt. Samuel Marcus, Grafton County, a pensioner of the War of 1812, who died April 1814, "in the United States service," and the names of whose heirs are Betsey, Deborah, Samuel, Asa, and Drusa Marcus, is so listed in *New Hampshire, Provincial, State and Town papers*, Manchester, 1910, v. 30, pp. 230-231.

In Stratford County [N. H.] Deed Book 1, p. 30, Jacob Segel is mentioned in a deed of land, in Wolfeboro, 1773.

RHODE ISLAND, 1744.

In a list of "Rhode Island privateer and naval officers, and supply ships,"²⁰ under the date of November 1744, is listed the sloop "Queen of Hungary" from Newport, with a crew of 50 men and 12 guns of 80 tons burden. Zacharias Cohen is listed as a gunner.

¹⁷ Hartford, 1922, v. 3, May 1780-Oct. 1781, p. 79.

¹⁸ In *Connecticut Historical Society, Collections*, v. 21, p. 196.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 14, p. 630.

²⁰ In Joseph J. Smith, comp., *Civil and military lists of Rhode Island, 1800-1850*, Providence, 1901, v. 2, p. 692.

BARBADOS, 1654 AND 1699.

Frank W. Pitman in his "The development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763,"²¹ quotes the following, from a description of Barbados in Henry Whistler's Journal for March 1654/55: "This Island is inhabited with all sortes: with English, french, Dutch, Scotcs, Irish, Spaniards they being Iues (Jews): with Ingones and miserabell Negors borne to perpetuall slauery thay and thayer seed." He cites Nicholas Blake's complaint to the king, Feb. 28, 1669/70, about the toleration granted to all religious sects on the Island, as follows: "If things run much longer in the course it now goeth, there will soon be apparent a greater number of fanaticks, nonconformists, etc. than a loyal and truly religious interest."²² Blake further states: "the chief church is mostly Presbyterian; the Independents have their conventicles . . . the Jews have their sinagogs . . . and what is bad as all the rest, places of trust, both military and civil, are put into such men's hands . . ."²³

PHILIP SENYOR, AT CURAÇOA, 1710.

A circular letter from the Council of Trade & Plantations to the Governors and Proprietors of Plantations, Jan. 19, 1710, alleges illegal trade practices, on the part of the Jews, between Curaçoa and the British plantations. A memorial of one Peter Holt (?) is included. In this connection he mentions Philip Senyor, "a Jew merchant and the Governor's [of Curaçoa] favorite."²⁴

JAMAICA, 1735/36.

Pitman²⁵ relates the well-known hostility of the early colonial traders of Jamaica and Barbados against their Jewish competitors. He cites Wm. Wood's transmittal of a petition to Sec. Popple, Feb. 18, 1735/36, from Benjamin Bravo,²⁶ a Jew who had resided in Jamaica ten or eleven years, had returned to England, and was seeking relief for the persecuted Jews of Jamaica." With it went a supporting peti-

²¹ New Haven, 1917, p. 6.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²³ Quoted *ibid.*, from *Gt. Brit., Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series, America & West Indies, 1699 also Addenda 1621-1698*, p. 593.

²⁴ *Public Record Office. O. S. P., Col. Ser., Amer. & W. I., 1710/1711*, p. 16-17.

²⁵ *Supra*, p. 29-30.

²⁶ See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 5, p. 111; no. 18, p. 159, 165; and no. 32, p. 61, 63.

tion to the king from many Christian merchants who certified Bravo's plea. "William Wood, who had been in Jamaica, sympathized with the Jews, and thought that their treatment was detrimental to the increase of inhabitants. The government appeared reasonable and instructed Governor Edward Trelawny to withhold his assent from any act imposing additional duties on the Jews."²⁷

L. M. FRIEDMAN.

AARON LOPEZ'S FAMILY AFFAIRS FROM "THE COMMERCE OF RHODE ISLAND."

In 1914 the Massachusetts Historical Society published two volumes of the commercial correspondence of Newport merchants, entitled "Commerce of Rhode Island 1726-1800."²⁸ This was the period when Newport was one of the great trading centers of North America, the Jewish community there in its prime and Aaron Lopez, with his far flung interests and his large and active fleet of sailing vessels, one of the leading figures of American commerce. The collection embraces scores of letters written from all sorts of places, domestic and foreign, on business affairs to Lopez. Unfortunately, however, letters from Lopez himself are sadly lacking. During the Revolution, Lopez, driven by the British invasion, was forced to desert Newport and take refuge in Leicester, Massachusetts. Later, in the unsettled state which preceded peace, he was forced to travel around the country trying to settle his affairs and to carry on business in the confusion of an uncertain and fluctuating currency. Preserved in the dry reports of business deals and market prices are these revealed bits of domestic interest shedding sidelights on family affairs.

After Abraham Pereira Mendes married Aaron Lopez's daughter he was made Lopez's representative in Jamaica. The young man evidently made a mess of affairs, for in 1769 Lopez gave his Captain Wright a power of attorney to take over the business and send Mendes back to Newport. The story unfolds itself.

²⁷ Pitman's information is abstracted from Colonial Office records, CO 137 (= Jamaica, Original Correspondence with the Board of Trade) 22, V 10 and 11, and from Edward Long, *History of Jamaica*, London, 1774, v. 1, p. 573.

²⁸ *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, ser. 7, v. 9-10.

ISAAC PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ ²⁹

JAMAICA, KINGSTON, 15 February, 1767

. . . The choice of my Brother Abraham to your daughter Miss Sally, for his Consort, has meritted much our Aprobation, as also that of my honourd Mother. The Ameableness of your daughter, the Bright Carrecter and honour of yours and familys, as much in these parts, as those of ancient, in Portugal, cannot butt give us in generall the greatest sattisfaction; that my Brother has united himself with; (which is doeing honour to the Memory of our Worthy and Honourd Father.) From my Brother repeated Expressions of their reciprocal Love, must make them happy, and pleasing to you, and beg leave to return my Congratulating you and all your good family, on this joyfull occasion, wishing them all the Happiness they can wish for, and pray the Almighty may crown them with his Blessings and make you a happy Father, and my tender Embraces to the Young Lady, with that of my spouse and family. I make no doubt, you have found in my Brother, such Bright Qualitys, which few of his age are endowed with, particular from the Education of Youths, in these parts, he has those of Nature so strongly, I am sure with cultivating in your good Advice must make him a Bright Man. . . .

ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ ³⁰

KINGSTON, 28th September, 1767

I must now acquaint you of my safe arrival in this place Saturday night after a passage of 33 days. I cant say agreeable, being sick all the passage, and was reduced very low, at my landing I could hardly keep my Legs, but hope in a few days to recover.

I found all my Relations, I must leave you to consider their Situation. My Hon'd Mother is reduced very low, owing to the great Losses she has met with. I assure you, Dear Sir, the Condition I found her in shock'd me to the heighest degree. . . .

I receive my Dear Mr. Rivera's kind Compliments and am sorry could not embrace this Opportunity in writing of him particular; but beg you'll tender my best Love to him and Dear Mrs. Rivera and Little Abraham. as yett have not seen Mr. Livingston he being out of Town. I dont imagine I shall proceed to Sav. Lamar so soon as I expected, occasioned by my Weakness and the Holydays approaching; but directly after the Holidays will proceed and write of all Transactions . . .

ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ ³¹

KINGSTON, 29th September, 1767

. . . As for familys Business its out of my power to inform you. all I can say is, that the Death of my poor Brother will prove very fatal to me. I hope god of his Infinit Mercy will give me Health and Life to labour

²⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 9, p. 182.³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202-3.³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 206-7.

and doe as well as I can with my little I shall have. I am very sorry, Dear Sir, to fill your Letter with family's Buisness, but looking upon you as in the Room of my deced father hope youll over look it.

My Love to my Dear Sally and hope she's well and beg she'll write by all opportunity. You'll be pleased to make my kind Love acceptable to all the good family, particularly Dear Mr. Rivera and his good family, and conclude, Dear Sir, with profound Respects Your Affectionate Well Wisher,

ABR'M PEREIRA MENDES

P. S. I beg youll not neglect giving my Little Jacob many Kisses at the Recet of this . . .

ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ ³²

KINGSTON, 1st November, 1767

. . . I wish in God my Business and the Season would allow my being a passenger on Board this Brig, should with all my Heart embrace this Opportunity, as my dear Sally's Indisposition has laid me under the Greatest Concern, any thing in this world could have done. I must only wish the Almighty God my grant her health and life, that we may embrace each other, which I hope will be shortly. . . .

My hon(ore)d Mother is now somewhat better than she has been. as for my part, I enjoy a perfect State of Health, and hope to hear the same from you and all the family, as nothing will give me greater pleasure. Youll be pleased to make my Compliments acceptable to your Worthy Brother, and his Wife and Children, your Brother David, Tea Reaca (Rebecca?), and the Rest of the family, and conclude with my hearty wishes for you and Dear Mrs. Lopez Health, not forgetting my Dear Little Jacob and Hannah, whom I so long to see. My Love to Josey and the rest of my Sisters and remain, Dear Mr. Lopez, Your Affectionate Well Wisher.

ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ ³³

SAV LA MAR, 11th March, 1768

. . . I shall take care if Pyner's Craft is sold at the Bay, to place in the room of King, and assure you (h)is care and assiduity deserve encouragement. As I am obliged to attend on severall people in the Country, cannot answer your severall Letters explicit, but may depend on my utmost attention to every particular. Capt. Pyner has returned from the Bay and have ordered him round to Lucea and Montego Bay, where there is a probability of disposing his Load, tho I believe low. You may gett best Jam'a Logwood at £5 per Ton by 10 Tons. I am hartly sorry to hear of Lemuel Wyatts unhappy misfortune, more so as our friend dear Mr. Rivera sustained a loss. I am very proud to find you had escape from the jaws of the lyon, as you was always a great Shipper with the Coasters. I

³² *Ibid.*, p. 207-10.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 232-3.

return you my hearty thanks for your kind present per Brayton, and am sorry times will not permit my sending any thing good. Youll be pleased to make my Love to Dear Mrs. Lopez, my Sisters and Brs. more so [to] my Little Jacob whom youll embrace with 100 kisses for me. I wish I could see that happy day of Returning to your dear Companies as I assure you I am heartily tired of Jam'a and hope in God, these Journeys will not lett me suffer. I must entreat your kind favor to over look my ommissions as I could now quarter myself and find sufficient Business for each. I shall procure the Vine Slips and send per first opportunity, as time will not permit sending that quantity . . .

ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ ³⁴

SAVANNA LAMAR, 25th July, 1768

I Received your many kind favors, the last per Captain Potter, which gave me the agreeable News of Dear Mrs. Lopez safe delivery of a Boy, may the Almighty grant Health and Life to the New Born. I am very sorry had not the pleasure of being present on that happy Event . . .

BENJAMIN WRIGHT TO RIVERA OR LOPEZ ³⁵

SAVANA LA MARR, the 12th November, 1768

. . . Our friend Mr. A. P. M(endes) is now here, and has been this for or five weeks, as am informed, and in regard to his affairs am not able to give you any account, have had no time to sound in to the bottom of his misstereous proceedings . . .

BENJAMIN WRIGHT TO ABRAHAM PEREIRA MENDES ³⁶

SAVANNA LA MAR, 3d April, 1769

. . . Mr. Lopez informs me he acquainted you that he sent me a Power of Attorney, or should have acquainted you of it my self before you left this place, which power was sent for no other reason only to release you from a long fatiguing Voyage, as you might go to your Family and Friends, which would be more glad to see you than you can imagine. without Ceremony and as you did not chuse to accept of my Offer in taking your Affairs in hand and settling them for you, I now make you an offer of my best Services on the same Subject, either in assisting you or taking the whole on me to collect the Outstanding Debts or get them secured in a better manner than they appear to be at present, all which must and shall be done before I leave this Island. . . .

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

BENJAMIN WRIGHT TO AARON LOPEZ ³⁷

SAVANNA LA MAR., 2 January, 1769

. . . Your inclos'd letter for A. P. Mendez I deliver'd him with my own hands. in about two hours he desir'd to speak to me. I did myself the honour to wait on him. he sayeth with a ruffled Countenance, my father has desir'd me to put all my business into your hands, and desires me to come immediately home. he was surprised that you should imagine that I could do my own business and settle all his affairs when they was scatter'd, from one end of the Island to the other. my answer was as follows, our mutual friend your father wrote me on the same subject, and shou'd you be inclin'd to embrace your father's request, which I would advise you to comply with by all means, as I know they want to see you, as you have been absent a long time; and if you think proper to deliver your papers into my hands, and let me know the state of your affairs, shall willingly accept to effect, and shall be glad to release you from this place, as you may go and see your little agreeable family, which I shou'd think one of the greatest blessings in life. he tells me he shall come home in the spring and not before, and is determined to take his passage in the Ship "Jacob". he has never given me any Encouragement that he will deliver his papers into my hands, so that Affair stands newter. till further Advice we are on extream good terms. I look on him to be a sensible genteel young man as any of his age. his judgment in business I do not meddle with; shall leave that part to my superiors my worthy owners; as I know their Ability, shall say no more on that subject . . .

BENJAMIN WRIGHT TO AARON LOPEZ ³⁸

SAVANNA LA MAR 8th April, 1769

. . . I received a Letter from A. P. Mendez the 19th March, wherein he informes me that he cannot think of coming home in the Ship at any Rate, as he had Matters of Consequence to settle for the Concerned as well as for his own Account, he even did not desire to be remember'd to you or family. "Horrid Ingratitude, the most heinous Crime a Man can be Guilty of." Inclosed you have a Copy of my Letter to him of the 3d April, wherein you will see my determination. Notwithstanding your Instructions per the CHARLOTTE are (discretionary), when Absolute Orders in things of this Nature are most to be depended on, shall in a few days wait on the Young Man at Kingston, which is near Three Hundred Miles from this place, and lay my Commands on him. Am determined to have his affairs settled in a more secure manner than they appear to be at present. I was willing to entertain as favourable opinion of the Young Man as possible, and had much rather medigate matters than agravate them; but in justice to you shall not let the affair rest any longer, as I see no preparation either to settle his affairs or come home. he seems to be void of Thought on that subject. I expect it will detain me much longer than we imagined, but shall do every thing in my power to secure your Interest

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 262.³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 270-1.

in the best manner and If I should receive any of his Debts in produce, which is the most probable way to receive it, you have given no Orders to ship it to you, Neither have you advised me that you will send a Vessel; . . .

BENJAMIN WRIGHT TO AARON LOPEZ ³⁹

SAVANNA LA MAR the 2 June, 1769

. . . my being sumthing ambitious in despatching this Brig put it out of my power to wait on Mendez, by whome I now begin to fear you will be a Grate Sufferer. I have spaired no pains to informe my self how he conducted him self dureing his Tarry here am sorrey to inform you I have heard nothing in his favour, but shall set out for Kingston in order to see what account he can give of him self as soon as the Brig is gone . . .

HENRY CRUGER, JR. TO AARON LOPEZ ⁴⁰

BRISTOL, June 7th, 1769

. . . The candid and explicit Manner in which you have vouchsafed to unbosom yourself, respecting your affairs in the Hands of Mr. Mendes is, I humbly think, an information that our Connexions entitled me to have; nor has it done you any injury in my Opinion; for to tell you the truth, so much promising through that Channel, and so little performing, tended naturally to create unfavourable Ideas; but, the cruel usage I perceive you have suffered from Mr. Mendez greatly extenuates the injurious part of your Conduct towards me . . .

LEAH MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ ⁴¹

KINGSTON, 6th August, 1770

HONOURABLE SIR,

This hope will find you and family in perfect state of health, as I enjoy, and the rest of the family, and which hope will continue with a great deal of felicity and happiness for innumerable years. It is with great pleasure and joy I now write you acquainting of the dutifulness of my Son Abraham in complying to our request to return home, he has insured me of never disobliging, nor never to cause you and his wife any more grievance, and will always be bound to your obedience, and he has acknowledged his fault of being so long absent, and it is with no doubt it gives him great concern in reflecting of his folleys but you are fully sensible that youthness and bad advisers is always of great prejudice, and much so when they wont be rule(d). but all his transgression will be an example for his better amendment, and I make no doubt that he will fullfill his promises to me, and he goes overjoy'd to your feet to crave pardon, and which I hope you'l grant for the sake of a poor widow'd Mother, who will always receive great satisfaction and content-

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 340-1.

ment in knowing of his good proceedings and dutifullness to you, and as God, (the best exampler of the hole world) forgives mankind so I hope you'll be so pleased as to pardon him, and in granting me this favour I shall forever acknowledge.

If, please God, nothing interposes next year I shall resolve to go and enjoy yours and my loving Daughter's company, for a hole twelve months. no more to enlarge but remain, craving you a great deal of happiness, from, Sir, Your Most Humble Servant,

LEA MENDES

LOVING DAUGHTER,

It is with great pleasure I now acquaint you of Abraham complying to our request in returning to enjoy your sweet company, and I beg of you that you'll forgive him of his misbehaving and his absence from so good a Wife as you, but he has promised of never causing any more grievance, but always to be the instrument of seeking for to give you pleasure and content, and therefore hope all will be forgotten, and shall always be please to know of both your happiness, and remain craveing you health and prosperity from, Your Loving Mother,

LEA MENDES

DAVID PEREIRA MENDES TO AARON LOPEZ ⁴²

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, 22nd May, 1772

. . . I found my Brother Abraham in a very poor state of health. he is just come out of a dangerous fit of sickness. he seems to be very anxious of seeing his Wife, and throwing himself at your feet. I shall dispatch him by the latter end of next month, in the manner I promised you, and shall write you by him more copiously upon that subject. I beg that you'll lett Mrs. Lopez partake with you in the assurance of my best respects . . .

PHILIP MINIS TO AARON LOPEZ ⁴³

OFF CAPT BONAVISTE ON CUBA, 17th July, 1772

SIR,

This serves to acquaint you that I left Kingston about 20 days since, when I left your Son in Law Mr. Abraham Pereira Mendes in a very bad state of Health and it was thought it was inclineable to go into a Consumpsion If so suppose it will soon terminate in Death, which I hope no as he is a young man and may reform . . .

ABRAHAM LOPEZ TO AARON LOPEZ ⁴⁴

JAMAICA, April 7th, 1767.

. . . With Grief I acquaint you the Heavy Loss I have met with in the Death of my Beloved Wife whom God was pleas'd to take to himself the

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 406-7.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

26th last month after a lingering Illness of three months. the physicians flatter'd me with Hopes six days before her Death, as she was then deliver'd of a find Girl (which is still alive), but to my great Grief is turn'd out the reverse, and I am in disconsolate Condition being left with nine small children. I must endeavour to bear this Shock with Patience and hope the Lord will endue me with Fortitude so to do. I am afraid this unhappy Affair will occasion your Brig LITTLE HART a fortnight's longer detention than I propos'd, as I cannot go out to forward the Molasses on board of her, which I am heartily sorry for, but I shall use every Method I can fall on for her Dispatch . . .

AARON LOPEZ TO DAVID LOPEZ, JR.⁴⁵

LECESTER, August 25, 1779

Altho much incomoded with a Rheumatick pain in my heep (hip) and much buried with attending sundry large purchasers who in their return from Boston have visited my Store and taken off considerable parcells of Goods . . . Your Aunt desires Love to you. Your Sister Sally continues poorly tho something better. What news from Philad.?

BENJAMIN WRIGHT TO AARON LOPEZ⁴⁶

LEICESTER, 11th December, 1779

. . . I have been at your House one whole week, living on the fatt of the Land, and my attendance fit for a Noble man. Your family at present are in number only 99 and still there is a vacancy for one more, and I desire you will return with all Expedition and fill it, then we shall be able to proceed to business. to prevent your inattention to what I have said, permitt me to hint, your family if I mistake not, inclines to embrace the Presbyterian Faith, a Religion of all now extant is the most fatal, to Humanity and Common Honest; fraught with Superstition and oppression, (whatever I may think I will not say—Rebellion) if this piece of Intelligence will not bring you home I must suppose you are inclined to take to your self, another wife. should that prove to be the case, my friend, the first ox slead you see approach the greate Town, prepare your self to meet a man Red with uncommon Rath to blast the man who oweth his greatness to paper Money . . .

MOSES SEIXAS TO AARON LOPEZ⁴⁷

NEWPORT, October 5th 1780

. . . Mr. Channing again applied for the use of the Synagogue I availed myself of the impropriety of letting him having it, whilst I had not Mr. Rivera and your sense on the occasion and which had been requested by his and Mr. Merchants desire. Since then Doct'r Stiles is come here on a Visit, and I made it my business to converse with him on the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 10, p. 65-66.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 109-110.

matter. he express'd much concern and amazement at the application, assur'd me it wou'd not have been made had he been here, that he was well convinc'd we cou'd not acceed to it, without violating our religions principles, and that all that lay in his power shou'd be done to remove any unfavorable impressions that a refusal might create amongst his congregation, and on the whole express'd a very friendly feeling for us. notwithstanding all which I think it highly necessary that both you and Mr. Rivera furnish me with your Opinion respecting the matter. . . .

DAVID LOPEZ, JR. TO AARON LOPEZ ⁴⁸

PROVIDENCE, January 2d, 1781

. . . permit me, my dearest Sir, to reiterate with a heart felt gratitude, the sincere acknowledgments that so justly is due for your great benevolence in negotiating a plan for my Establishment, which I esteem so beneficial; and in which, your most excelent and liberal heart, I am fully convinced was purely actuated from motives of benignity towards me. this additional instance joined to the many and repeated marks of your goodness, and favour, which from my youth upwards I have experienc'd at your benevolent hands, claims more than the fullness of my heart, or my pen can express, binds me for ever by the strongest ties of gratitude and affection, which to my latest day will continue indelibly engraved in my mind, and which the study of my life shall be to evince the sincerity of by acceptable actions . . .

MOSES SEIXAS TO AARON LOPEZ ⁴⁹

NEWPORT, January 12th, 1781

I have also sent your Good Lady's pickle pot, but we take shame to ourselves that after detaining it so long, now to return it empty, not so much, not so much as a bitt of Fish to be had to put in it . . . A few days ago, I run the prong of a sharp fork into my right thumb which makes it very sore and painfull and can hardly hold a pen. . . .

MOSES SEIXAS TO AARON LOPEZ ⁵⁰

NEWPORT, June 12th, 1781

. . . Amongst the gone are those which held your House, etc. which was evacuated this Morning. I have been since to take a View of the house but such a collection of straw, dirt, and nastiness, I never before saw in any house that was occupied by any that PROFESS'D GENTILITY and all that they have left poor Margaret towards cleaning it, is about a Board of Wood. they stript the Garret of about 20 or 30 boards, most of the keys of the Stores they have carried off, with the Shelves and some of the Glass and some Timber from the Wharf. . . .

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

There are many references to the difficulty of obtaining Kosher meat. Thus:

HENRY ISRAEL TO AARON LOPEZ ⁵¹

JAMAICA, ST. ANNS, July 8th, 1770

. . . I would therefore be kindly oblige to you if you would be so kind as to take the Trouble found in sending by the Return of Captain Potter for Saint Anns, Two good large Barrell of good כשר Beef (fett and prime pieces) and will send you the Payment by the Return of the small vessell. I must also beg you'll send me it as . . . reasonable as possible, as I have a large Family, and I have enough to do to support 'em genteelly. . . .

MOSES SEIXAS TO AARON LOPEZ ⁵²

NEWPORT, July 9th, 1781

. . . My Dear Mrs. Lopez may depend on having a reinforcement of Coshier fat as soon as possible, out Mr. Judah's commendable conscience and superlative knowledge of the Bedika ⁵³ has prevented our having any chance as yet to make a beginning in procuring some for her. . . .

L. M. FRIEDMAN.

WILLIAM GOTTLIEB SCHAUFFLER.

William Gottlieb Schauffler ⁵⁴ (born in Stuttgart in 1798, died in New York in 1883) may be justly called the foremost American expert on Eastern Jewries.⁵⁵ Having spent the greater part of his

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, v. 9, p. 338.

⁵² *Ibid.*, v. 10, p. 140.

⁵³ The inspecting of cattle after being killed as distinguished from Shechita, the killing.

⁵⁴ As to the facts of Schauffler's life, see his *Autobiography of W. G. Schauffler, for forty-nine years a missionary in the Orient*, Edited by his sons, New York, 1887; and the sketch of him in the *Dictionary of American biography*, v. 16. See also Moses Stuart, *Sermon at the ordination of the Rev. William G. Schauffler, missionary to the Jews, preached . . . November 14, 1831* . . . Andover, 1831 (Rosenbach Bibliography, items 338, 576).

⁵⁵ My styling Schauffler as the foremost American expert on Eastern Jewries is based on negative considerations, rather than positive ones. Certainly no other American, to my knowledge, published works in Ladino. Schauffler's fellow-missionaries, such as Eli Smith, Elias Riggs, and Cornelius Van Dyck may have known a little Ladino, but they never published anything to show this, and their work seems to have been mainly among Mohammedans and Eastern Christians (Syrians, Armenians, etc.) rather than among Jews.

mature life in practical missionary work in the Near East, he possessed a remarkable knowledge of at least a dozen Eastern languages, in addition to a free command of most languages of Europe. His knowledge of Hebrew and Ladino (the Judæo-Spanish of the Eastern Sephardic Jews) was so thorough, that he produced a very good edition of the Psalms in these two languages (Smyrna, 1836), followed two years later by a monumental edition of the entire Old Testament (Smyrna, 1838). Although the Ladino part of this work is not entirely an original production (Schauffler leaned heavily on Abraham Asa's Ladino version, published in Constantinople in 1739-1744), yet it testifies to his perfect command of the language and his good knowledge of the Hebrew original.

The 1838 edition of the Old Testament, published at the expense of the American Bible Society, was prefaced by a eulogistic letter from the Grand Rabbi of Constantinople, Samuel Hayyim⁵⁶; apparently, in spite of his missionary activity, Schauffler was on excellent terms with the Jewish clergy. A new edition, under the same auspices, appeared at Vienna in 1841-42,⁵⁷ with the same prefatory eulogy. But some time in the same year, Samuel Hayyim died, and his eulogy seems to have lost its effectiveness. Schauffler, however, had no difficulty in securing another recommendation, this time from three Constantinopolitan rabbis. The text of this recommendation, preserved in the original in the Yale University Library, is given below. It has apparently never been published by Schauffler himself, and is here printed for the first time.

1. ב"ה
2. אלוכם אישים ישראל קדושים אותותינו אלה הם המדברים לידע ולחודיע כי הנה אמת האיר אל עבר פנינו האלוף השר הנגיד המפורסם ס"י ביולאם ג' שאופליר אשר כל העם הקהל עונים
3. אחריו היותו איש יודע לדבר דבר בלשון צחות בתורתנו הקדושה. ובידו אנך ספרי הקדש תנ"ך עם העתקה ספרדית להבין ולהשכיל לנערי בני ישראל הקטנים עם
4. הגדולים והמה מפוראים ומשובחים בכל קצוי ארץ וים רחוקי'. ואנחנו הח"מ ראה ראינו כי כל כוונתו לזכות את הרבים שריבה וקבץ פעלים לתורה להביא לדפוס אלו ספרי הקדש תורה

⁵⁶ Samuel Hayyim's commendation bears the date of 1830. Why it is dated so many years earlier I do not know, unless Schauffler secured it long in advance, before he ever started on his work, in order to make sure first that his translation would not be banned among Jews.

⁵⁷ In the Yale copy there is an autograph note by W. G. Schauffler which states "The ms. begun December 1836, & finished in print at Vienna June 10, 1842."

5. נביאים וכתובים בדפוס נאה ואותיות מאירים ומזהירים אשר כמוהו לא היה עד עצם היום הזה. וכאשר הסכים על ידו הרב הגדול מעוז ומגדול כמו"ה שמואל חיים
6. זל"ה. כי העד העיד בנו על הס"י שאפלי"ר [!] הנ"ל איש בשר איש ראוי לברכה לרגל המלאכה ובהסכמה מוסכמה להחזיק בידו ולתומכו כאשר דבר המלך כתוב
7. ומפורש דרשו מעל ספר בראשית על שול"י היריעה. וברוח שפתיו חלק לו כבוד והוכיח סופו שכן נדפסו הספרי תנ"ך הנ"ל בעיון רב ובדקדוק גדול בעין יפה כיד ה' הטובה עליהם. ובכן יהיה ברכת
8. ה' אליהם לו ולכל המסתופפים בצלו מקדישי ומשגיחי ספרי הקדש הנ"ל. ומצדיקי הרבים ככוכבי' לעולם ועד. יחד כלם ישאו ברכה עד זקנה ושיבה גדול מרבבה יחיו דגן ויפרחו וכאור השמש יזרחו
9. וע"ז שפתינו אתנו יביעו ידברו אל קול הקריה ואל כל העדה קדושה בוזו כסף בוזו זהב לקוח את ספר התורה הזה הנמכר' על ידי אחינו ב"י במחיר מעט כאשר נדבה רוחו אותו השר הנ"ל אשר
10. פעל ועשה להגדיל תורה ולהאדירה ולעשות לו שם כשם הגדולים אשר בארץ יהי ה' אלקיו עמו ויעל. הב"ד התומים פה קושטא יע"א ב"ת חשון למספר בני ישראל לפ"ק ברוב עוז ושלום.
11. הצעיר אברהם ממני הצעיר יעקב הצעיר אליעזר די מולידו ס"ט
12. גבאי ב' דוד
13. ה"י יצ"ן

The ms. (call-number: Hebrew +12) is written in a calligraphic Oriental hand on a folded folio sheet of European paper, and is dated in the month of Heshwan A. M. 5603. It bears an English note on its contents in Schauffler's own hand.

It may be of interest to note here that Yale's copy of the 1842 edition of the Schauffler Bible bears an autograph presentation inscription "To the Rev. Mr. Beadle [probably Rev. Elias Root Beadle (1812-1879)] from his missionary brother W. G. S. Pera-Constantinople Dec. 27/[18]42."

LEON NEMOY.

FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING THE COLONY "SHOLAM" ON YAGEVILLE HILL, ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK.

The *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* contain two notes concerning the Colony "Sholam".⁵⁸

I have known of the existence of Sholam Hill for the past ten years, since it was customary for me to spend several months of the year at a little place in Montela, a small hamlet only four miles from Sholam. Joe Hermann, or, as he was affectionately called by the hill natives, King Joe, told me in 1927 of ". . . the old Hebrew town

⁵⁸ In no. 23, p. 178-179, by D. de Sola Pool, and a copy of the Deed of Indenture of the Colony, dated December 15, 1837, *ibid.*, no. 25, p. 140-141.

that used to be way up on Sholam. Sure," he continued, "there's even a cemetery up there and what used to be the Hebrew church . . ."

It wasn't before September 1936 that I had an opportunity to visit Sholam Hill. My brother, Hedge Ringel, a geologist, and I had received a note from Alexander C. Flick, New York State Historian, in which he stated that the Archives and History Division had no information concerning "Sholam". At about this time I received a letter from a member of your Society, Mr. Herman J. Levine of Ellenville, N. Y., several extracts of which I include:—

The Sholam Colony is part of what was formerly the Town of Rochester and later became part of the newly carved out Township of Warwarsing . . . Title to the original tract was obtained from the Crown of England through the Rochester Patent with boundaries and description as recited in royal letters bearing date June 25, 1703. It is claimed that the early settlers lived there twenty years prior thereto by treaty with the Indians. Title was vested in three trustees, Captain Joachim Schoonmaker, Moses Depuy and Colonel Harry Beckman, who in turn conveyed title to the settlers. Just prior to the turn of the nineteenth century, the tract upon which Sholam was founded was conveyed to Edmund Bruyn according to the Chambers Map to which reference is made.

About the year 1837 the Delaware and Hudson Canal was opened and the various industries in the section began to do a booming business which no doubt led to Jewish contacts in the City and in turn led to the settlement of Sholam. On December 12, 1837 deeds were executed to William N. Pollack, Marcus Van Gelderen, Elias Rodman, Benedict Cohen, Jonas Solomon, Edward May, Reverend Solomon Samelson, Ignatz Newman, Moses Cohen, Charles A. Sahroni . . . One deed was made to Zion Berenstein for nine lots on Sholam Tract and two lots in Sholam Village. It is believed that the latter was the site for the Synagogue and Cemetery and is now owned by the estate of Joseph Hermann, whose daughter, Mrs. William Moran, now lives in Lackawack . . . It is said that Joseph Hermann's mother was Jewish and that her name was Mary Katz. From this it would appear that the Katz family may have settled there later.

As part payment on their properties, the Jewish settlers gave purchase money mortgages payable within five years and bearing an interest rate of 7%. Foreclosure resulted in 1841 and with the exception of the properties of Zion Berenstein and Ignatz Newman, all lost their properties between May 6th and May 27th of 1848 . . .

During our visit on Sholam (contrary to another spelling, "Sholom"; the United States topographic map of 1905 lists the name as Sholam, though the name does not appear on later maps) my brother, Hedge Ringel and I were entertained by a hill native bearing the name of Ed Eck, whom I knew and recognized as Fiddler Ed, a hill character. Ed Eck spent an entire day showing us around the hill country and the ruins of the ". . . Hebrew settlement alright . . ." King Joe, old Joe Hermann, who had originally told me the story of Sholam

in 1927 had died in 1933. Ed Eck's sister is the widow of King Joe. I mentioned this relationship in passing in order to lend weight to the information imparted to me by old Fiddler Ed.

Ed Eck was born on Sholam Hill 78 years ago, and his mother was married on Sholam 99 years ago (1838). According to Ed Eck, NEITHER HIS MOTHER NOR HE REMEMBERED A COLONY ON SHOLAM, because even then there were only ruins. There are today on Sholam Hill three rock piles which Ed Eck remembers distinctly as having once been houses, but which have since responded to the elements. Near one rock pile is a large earth-filled hole, which might have been a spring. About two hundred paces northwest of this rock pile is located a humus covered slope where Ed Eck showed us two sets of pointed granite slabs and remarked that these were two graves. We could not detect other grave markings on the slope.

The most interesting feature concerning these two sets of grave markings is that they run directly east-to-west, contrary to the slope of the terrain which is northwest-to-southeast. About three hundred paces directly north of this location there is another rock pile, which Ed Eck remembers as having stood erect some fifty years ago. One hundred paces northeast of this rock pile is the ruin of what Ed Eck described as the Hebrew church. The chimney lies directly to the west, while what might have been an altar lies directly opposite the chimney to the east, again contrary to the topographical run of the terrain. The structure, which Ed does not remember, could have been 30 feet long by 20 feet wide. Directly in the center of the ruin is growing a huge poplar tree which is between 50 and 75 years old. I should like to remark that it would have to take at least three decades for any stone structure to fall and another two decades for the requisite humus to gather in order to afford a proper hold for the roots of the tree. Consequently, the original building can be estimated to have stood there at the very least 100 years ago. Directly in front of this ruin is a live spring of about five feet in width. One almost gets the impression that if the ruin were actually the old synagogue, the spring might have been the official Mikvah. About 300 paces to the east of this ruin there lies the last of the ruins of Sholam, a rock pile some forty feet square.

I should like to state at this point that Sholam Hill is at present accessible only through two mountain trails. If there ever had been a road connecting Sholam with a road to the Delaware and Hudson Canal, as Mr. Levine intimated, it is not there at present nor does it appear on the United States topographic map of 1905. Moreover,

the terrain is much too hilly for any road to lead to the Delaware and Hudson Canal from Sholam.

The last person to be born in the Colony of Sholam, according to Ed Eck, was a man by the name of Sholam Lazarus. Ed Eck relates that when he was a youngster of twenty-five, in 1883, Sholam Lazarus was a man of sixty-five or thereabouts, which would indicate the last birth at the Sholam Colony to have taken place 119 years ago, i. e., 1818. Ed Eck also indicated from family records that Mary Katz, the mother of Joe Hermann, was born of Jewish parentage in Germany and came to Sholam where she married Joe's father. Her family, however, did not settle on Sholam.

At present, most of the story of Sholam is still clouded in rock and humus. Perhaps some day, if the opportunity should present itself once more, I shall go to Sholam and try to find something concrete to indicate the type and characters of the settlers of Sholam.

May 4, 1937.

MOSHEH R. RINGEL.

THE CORRECT DATE OF GERSHOM MENDES SEIXAS' SECOND MARRIAGE.

An error, once committed, gathers an enormous amount of moss on its rolling way. I am led to this observation by the date, Nov. 1, 1789, given everywhere as that of the second marriage of the patriot-rabbi of the Revolution, Gershom Mendes Seixas, to his second wife, Hannah Manuel. The first one, to my knowledge, who recorded that date is Isaac Markens, in his *The Hebrews in America*, New York, 1888. There, on p. 16, he cites an announcement of that marriage from the New-York Journal of Nov. 2, 1789, as having taken place "yesterday," i. e. Nov. 1, 1789. Morais follows this date in his *The Jews of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1894, p. 17. So does N. T. Phillips in his "The Levy and Seixas families" in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 4, p. 208. It was given still further currency by the author of the article "Gershom Mendes Seixas," in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v. 11, p. 161.

I stumbled again upon this date when, in examining the Lyons scrap-book, no. 2, I found therein, on f. 22, a Hebrew poem dedicated to the above-mentioned marriage. There it is stated that it took place on Wednesday, Heshvan 11,5547, i. e. Wednesday, Nov. 1, 1786. (Since Wednesday that year was the 10th of Heshvan, we can assume that the marriage took place Wednesday evening. Jewish

custom considers the evening as part of the following day, and in this case the Hebrew date of the evening is put down as of Thursday, the actual 11th of Heshvan.)

Only then did I realize that the currently-believed date, Nov. 1, 1789, is wrong. The true date is Nov. 1, 1786. To make doubly sure, I searched for the Markens citation in the *New-York Journal* of Nov. 2, 1789, where, of course, I did not find it, because there appeared no issue on that date, and that of Nov 2, 1786, where, indeed, I did find it, on p. 3, col. 3. The error of Markens, made in 1888, when type was set by hand, is very easily explainable. A not too-careful typesetter substituted the "9" in 1786 for what should have been a "6". Other writers copied it thus, and perpetuated the error for half a century.

The poem is in the form of an acrostic of the names of the bridegroom and the bride. It is not of great significance in content or in style. This judgment is justified when one remembers that Hebrew literature at that time had already possessed many marriage odes, particularly many originating in Italy, of high poetic merit. The chief value of the present ode lies in that it enables us to correct an important date in an important man's biography. We give here its text, with a few notes. It is a pity that so far it remains anonymous.

בראותי בית שני⁵⁹ אשר בנה הגביר גרשם סעשעם רז"ו
 ב"א מרחשון יום ד' ג"ר"ש"ם⁶¹ לפק תרהוני⁶² רעיוני,
 וצלחת עלי רוח, לשיר את השירה הזאת ואשא משלי ואומר
 שיר ידידות

גבוה על גבוהים, רם על רמים שעה אנקת עבדך למעון קדשך
 רצון הגרשמי כהניך תמלא, וצלח עליו מברכותך, הוא העובד עבודת עמך
 שכמו למס החזק, ויראה זרע עוסקי בדת אל
 מהר ענה לקול ג"ר ש"ם שוכן עם שארית ישראל
 חן הוצק בעיני כלילת יופי סגולתו, ומדותיה מי מנה
 לא, ברכם, שמחם, שמרם, כי צדקה, והיא הגונה
 האשיב ריקם, בקראי ותתפלל חנה?

⁵⁹ Home is a Talmudic expression for wife. ביתו זו אשתו. See Yoma, I: 1.

⁶⁰ The meaning of the dots on these three letters is not clear. Perhaps it is an abbreviation of רב זרע יראה, in line with the wish expressed further down אל ויראה זרע עוסקי בדת

⁶¹ The dotted words constitute numerically 5547, in this case 1786.

⁶² Apparently from the verb הרה which is here used in its derivative meaning "to think" רעיוני = my thoughts led me to think (further).

NECROLOGY.

FRANK CUNDALL.

Frank Cundall, secretary and librarian of the Institute of Jamaica from the beginning of 1891 to his death, in his eightieth year, November 15, 1937, was a valued corresponding member of our Society, since his election in February 1913. Deeply interested in all aspects of the history of Jamaica he was naturally familiar with the Jewish phases of this record. He wrote the following brief papers for our *Publications*: "Documents relating to the history of the Jews in Jamaica and Barbados in the time of William III" and "Michael Leoni" in No. 23; "The taxation of the Jews in Jamaica" in No. 28; and "The taxation of the Jews in Jamaica in the 17th century" in No. 31. He generously sent for our Archives notes and documents on Isaac Lopez, Israel Lopez Laguna and Joshua Hezekiah De Cordova and portraits of David Lindo and Isaac Lopez, besides many volumes of Jamaica interest for our Library.

The late Mr. Cundall was an Englishman by birth and a Jamaican by adoption. He was readily accessible to all scholarly calls and causes, and contributed of his rich knowledge of the history of the island to various societies. Our own Society mourns his loss because he was always deeply interested in our work and evidenced this interest by the deeds described above.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

WILBERFORCE EAMES

When the American Jewish Historical Society admitted Wilberforce Eames as a corresponding member, it was fully aware of the fact that a distinguished name was added to the roster of eminent men who, in one way or another, have demonstrated their concern for the advancement of Jewish history. Wilberforce Eames has done more than that: he has contributed to the pages of the *Publications* of the Society and has enriched our bibliographical knowledge of early Americana. By his departure from this world on Monday, December 6, 1937, at the ripe old age of eighty-two, our Society was left poorer and scholarship in general sustained a severe loss.

Without any formal education beyond grammar school, Wilberforce Eames rose to such levels of scholarship that for many years he enjoyed the recognition of being America's leading bibliographer and a great authority on American history and literature. He was gifted with a remarkable memory, yet he was always shy, reserved to a fault, and, at times, even apologetic. He was an authority on North American Indian language; he was able to read Chinese and Japanese and knew many of the African dialects. During the last decades of his life he became intensely interested in Assyrio-Babylonian and Summerian inscriptions. His concern with the Bible was greater. He had a genuine interest in its literature and in the people that gave it to the world. He studied their life and lore and made several striking bibliographical contributions to certain aspects of Jewish history. Because of this, and many other contributions, he was made a corresponding member of our Society. This honor he valued and often spoke of it with sincere pride. He had an intimate and full acquaintance with the contents of the thirty-odd volumes

of the *Publications* of the Society, and counted many friends among its numerous contributors. He was quite pleased with the fact that his own study of the Proposed Scripture Calendar appeared in one of these *Publications*. His pioneer study of the use of Hebrew Types in English America before 1735 was incorporated in the Fleisher Memorial Volume (*Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Related Subjects*, New York 1929) in the making of which he took a lively interest.

Of New England ancestry, Wilberforce Eames was born in Newark, New Jersey, on October 12, 1855. He was the son of Nelson, a school teacher, and Phoebe Harriet Crane Eames. When he was six years old, he moved with his parents to Brooklyn, New York, where he continued to live the rest of his life. At the age of thirteen he became a printer's devil on the *East New York Sentinel*, a weekly publication. Eames had already acquired a passion for learning from books and passed his evenings reading the sixteen volumes of the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, Rollin's *Ancient History*, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and Hume's *History of England*. He lacked the benefits of a formal academic education, his schooling having stopped before he was fifteen years old, but his thirst for knowledge was never quelled.

Wilberforce Eames began his professional connection with books when he accepted a position as a clerk in a bookshop. He was then eighteen years old. Soon book-lovers and scholars came to know him and looked to him for advice and guidance. In 1885 at the age of thirty he became assistant to Dr. George Henry Moore, head of the Lenox Library. This was the beginning of his association with the New York Public Library. In 1892 he was appointed Dr. Moore's successor. As Chief of the Division of American History and as Bibliographer he continued his association with the New York Public Library, in which the Lenox Library had been consolidated, to the end of his days. His connection with that Library gave him unparalleled opportunity to increase his knowledge of books and

book-lore and to extend it most generously and unselfishly to others. Scholars everywhere turned to him for bibliographical and other help, and always spoke of him with respect and admiration. His discoveries of historical and bibliographical facts, hitherto buried, earned him the sobriquet of "the Sherlock Holmes of literary detectives." Eames' life-long devotion to learning was as devoid of self-seeking as that of a mediæval saint. To the public he was little known, but the world of scholarship honored him as a master. Harvard, Brown and Michigan Universities paid homage to his amazing learning by conferring upon him honorary degrees. Several learned societies presented him with some of their most coveted honors. He was made a Fellow in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; an honorary member of the Grolier Club; the Bibliographical Society of London presented him with its gold medal in recognition of his "extensive studies of Americana" and his "standing as the doyen of American bibliographers." The New York Historical Society bestowed upon him its highest honor—its gold medal—"in recognition of his scholarship and his unselfish devotion to the interests of all researchers in the field of American historical literature." Friends, admirers, and colleagues presented him with a volume of *Bibliographical Essays*, a tribute of affection, admiration and high esteem.

During the forty years or more of his association with the New York Public Library, Wilberforce Eames produced a considerable number of valuable bibliographical studies. He himself regarded as his "first big work" the job he began in his first year at the Lenox Library—the continuation of Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America*. The list of his writings prepared by Dr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, as an appendix to a biography of him, is not complete but impressive. Among his publications are several of distinctly Jewish interest, such as:

A list of editions of the "Bay Psalm Book" or New England Version of the Psalms (1885).

A list of editions of the *Margarita Philosophica*, 1503-1599 (1886).
The Bay Psalm Book (1903).

Use of Hebrew Types in English America before 1735 (1929).

"The Proposed Scripture Calendar" in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 32 (1931).

These, as his other publications, have no doubt exerted their due influence in the world of learning, but scholars and colleagues have also been touched by the charm and influence of his personality. Though Wilberforce Eames appeared as a physically frail figure with a gentle bearing, he demonstrated strength through his readiness and sympathetic eagerness to impart knowledge and to be of help to any one who sought his aid and advice. No finer description of the man could be penned than the following words of his colleague, Dr. H. M. Lydenberg (now Director of the New York Public Library) with whom he was associated for a period of over four decades.

"Wilberforce Eames was unique. He defied analysis. Other men have become scholars in spite of adverse circumstances. Other men have held rank in cataloguing, bibliography, many sides of the lore of books. But every one who touched Wilberforce Eames came to know he was in the presence of a master, learned, competent, open-minded, kindly, sympathetic, painstaking, accurate, never satisfied with anything but the best, never forgetting, always responsive, confidence-inspiring, modest, ever effacing.

He knew more about books and more kinds of books than any of his contemporaries ever knew or expect to know. His knowledge was comprehensive, accurate, final."

JOSHUA BLOCH.

HENRY PEREIRA MENDES.

The life of Henry Pereira Mendes was so rich in many-sided service and his saintly personality was so unusual that it is impossible to attempt to portray it in this brief notice. As a fuller tribute has been paid in the American Jewish Year Book for 5699, the present memoir limits itself to aspects of Dr. Mendes' life and activity which touched on American Jewish history.

Henry Pereira Mendes, son of the Rev. Abraham Pereira Mendes (b. Kingston, Jamaica, 1825; d. New York, 1893) and Eliza de Sola, filled a unique place in American Jewish life. Though born in England on April 13, 1852, and Minister of the Sephardic synagogue in Manchester, England, from 1875 to 1877, he nevertheless spent virtually a lifetime in the United States and identified himself completely and passionately with the noblest traditions of America and of American Jewry.

From 1877 he served for 43 years as the Minister of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York, and thereafter, from 1920 to his death on October 20, 1937, he was its Minister Emeritus. The historic atmosphere and associations of his congregation helped bring to expression his love of Jewish history. Jewish history was always dear to him, and when the Jewish Theological Seminary of America was organized, Dr. Mendes, besides being president of the Seminary's Advisory Board, acted for a number of years as its Professor of Jewish History.

He was keen to see the dramatic and educational values of historic celebrations. He called the first meeting which planned the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States. He was one of the national committee of seventeen which carried out that

celebration in 1905, and, in addition to being Chairman of its Divine Service Committee, he was one of the speakers at the historic meeting held on Thanksgiving Day in Carnegie Hall, New York City, in national celebration of that anniversary. (His address delivered on that occasion was published in No. 14 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*.) In 1887 he took the initiative in planning for the Jewish celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, and he was appointed one of a committee of two to plan for the participation of the Jews of New York in this quadricentennial. When New York City celebrated the 275th anniversary of its founding, he took official part in the celebration in City Hall, and in 1903, when New York City commemorated the 250th anniversary of the establishment of municipal government in New Amsterdam, he was the spokesman of its Jewish citizens.

The links which bound Dr. Mendes to American Jewish history were not only the predilection of his own studies and the associations of his congregation. There were ties in his own family tradition which united him with the United States in Colonial days. Abraham Pereira Mendes was a Mason and a noted merchant in New York City and in Newport, Rhode Island, in the second half of the 18th century. In somewhat striking coincidence, among the predecessors of Henry Pereira Mendes as Minister and Hazan of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York, was Benjamin Pereira Mendes, who served the congregation as its Minister and Hazan from 1748 to 1757.

In addition, Dr. Mendes was closely associated with the revival of the historic Newport Jewish congregation, Jeshuath Israel, in the last quarter of the 19th century. Its synagogue had been closed for 59 years, until it was opened in 1850 for services for summer residents. By 1881, as a result of the increasing Jewish immigration into the United States, there had settled in Newport a sufficient number of Jews to form a

permanent community. In that year Dr. Mendes paid two visits to Newport on behalf of his own congregation (which held the legal property rights to the Newport synagogue and its cemetery), and arranged for the permanent organization of the Jeshuath Israel community. At the end of 1882 Dr. Mendes' father became Minister of that congregation, and in May 1883 Dr. Mendes reconsecrated the Touro Synagogue, officially marking the reestablishment of permanent Jewish life in that community.

Dr. Mendes was not content merely to teach history or record history or mark its anniversary celebrations; in many ways he made history. His originality and his imagination led him to creative activity in many fields of Jewish life. He was one of the first Zionists in the United States. The Montefiore Hospital was founded as a result of his initiative in organizing the celebration of Sir Moses Montefiore's hundredth birthday. It was also he who had helped to make possible the realization of the idea of Sabato Morais that there should be in the United States an orthodox Jewish theological seminary. The meetings which organized the Jewish Theological Seminary of America were held in the rooms of Dr. Mendes' synagogue, and the seminary was formally opened in those rooms in 1887.

It was Dr. Mendes, together with his cousin the Rev. Meldola de Sola of Montreal, who issued the call which resulted in the organization of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of the United States and Canada. Its organizing convention was held in June 1898 in the assembly hall of Dr. Mendes' synagogue, and Dr. Mendes was elected the first president of the Orthodox Union, an office which he held continuously for fifteen years. He was one of the organizers of the New York Board of Jewish Ministers, of *the American Hebrew*, and indirectly also of the Young Women's Hebrew Association movement.

Dr. Mendes was a prolific writer, especially of text-books of Judaism and books of devotion, although he also published novels, stories, essays, poems and musical compositions. In the field of American Jewish history he contributed a number of papers to meetings of the American Jewish Historical Society. The earliest of these, read before the December 1897 meeting of the Society, was "Documents Relating to the First Congregation in North America." At the next annual meeting he presented two papers on Mexican Jewish history, one on the legend of the Jew and the Virgin's Picture, the other a list of Jewish heretics executed in the Cathedral. The following year he read some notes on early Newport News, and the next year, 1900, he drew attention to the grant of English privileges to the Jews of Surinam by the English government and Council in 1665. This was printed in the No. 9 of the *Publications*. In 1902 he wrote a memoir of his father, printed in No. 11, and in 1909 he presented a paper on the origin of Congregation Bnai Jeshurun, the second Jewish congregation in New York City. He also wrote a memoir of Abraham H. Nieto, and he prepared the glossary for No. 27 of the *Publications*, the second volume of the Lyons Collection. He was a member of the Society from the beginning, for his imagination enabled him to see clearly the far-reaching importance of discovering and publishing the historic facts of the Jewish settlement in America and of the Jewish contributions to America.

Himself imbued with an unflinching idealism, he demanded of Jewry the highest standards, and in his teachings, his activity and by his personal example he contributed notable honor to the Jewish name in America. If history be, as was said of old, philosophy teaching by example, Jewish history in America has had few such fine examples of Jewish philosophy nobly lived as was given by the life of Henry Pereira Mendes.

D. DE SOLA POOL.

SIMON W. ROSENDALE.

Simon Wolfe Rosendale, public servant, jurist, leader of men, ideal citizen, was born at Albany, June 23, 1842.

His education began in a public school and in the "religious school" conducted by Dr. Isaac M. Wise. When Dr. Herman Bendell of Albany died in 1932, Rosendale was left as the sole survivor of his class in the Synagogue school. The records show that the school tuition was \$9.00 a year. The rabbi teacher who received this munificent sum was obliged, by contract, to "keep the school clean and to provide fuel for heating the school in winter". When the storm broke over the head of Isaac M. Wise because of his activity in the "Reform" movement, in Albany, Rosendale's father was one of the leaders of the opposition but he lived to see the wisdom of the Wise campaign and became his friend. Simon having outgrown the Synagogue school, his parents sent him to a school at Barre, Vermont, where he remained as a student until he entered the Law School at Albany, then a branch of Union College.

He was admitted to the bar in 1863 and one year later was chosen Assistant District Attorney of Albany, serving in that capacity until 1867. In 1868 he was elected Recorder of the City of Albany in which capacity he served four years. He married Helen, daughter of Louis Cohn, in Albany in 1870. Although an ardent party man, he withdrew from political work to devote himself to a rapidly growing practice of his profession, as senior of the firm of Rosendale & Dugan. Later Rufus W. Peckham and Albert Hessberg became members of the law firm. Ever loyal to his party, a willing worker in matters pertaining to it, he carried into that branch of his endeavor a spirit of fairness and good citizenship by which he earned and retained the esteem even of his opponents. The methods of the politicians who seek and sometimes attain office and publicity by undignified means were unknown to

him. Aside from the public services already mentioned, he also served as Corporation Counsel of Albany for several terms, and was elected Attorney-General of the State of New York, occupying that high position from 1892 to 1894. To Judge Rosendale appointment or election to office meant a call to service. As a member of the State Bar Charities, to which Theodore Roosevelt appointed him—where he served part of his seventeen years as President; as a member of the Board of Governors of Union University and the Albany Medical College and as a Commissioner of the State Farm for Women he was an active worker. When the degree of LL. D. was conferred upon him by Union University his "Work" was stressed in the citation.

Simon Rosendale was above all a Jew. If the chronicle of his earthly journey were to be preserved, it would have been his wish—those he knew him best think—that his name be counted among those who, by precept and example, added lustre to American Judaism. The American Jewish Historical Society was one of his great loves. He served as one of its vice-presidents from the first organization meeting in 1892 to his last day; he contributed learned papers on colonial New York in the early volumes and rarely missed an annual meeting. He made several gifts in funds and books to the Society, including the establishment of a permanent publication fund in memory of his wife, the late Helen C. Rosendale. In 1905 he was a member of the Committee for the Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Settlement of the Jews in the United States.

I am indebted to Humboldt M. Schlesinger, Esq., of Albany, son of the late Rev. Dr. Max Schlesinger, for more than fifty years rabbi of the Congregation (Anshe Emeth), for a list of Rosendale's activities. They are as follows: For more than fifty years trustee of the Congregation Beth (Anshe) Emeth, Albany; one of the founders of the Board of Governors of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and its allied ac-

tivities, among them the Hebrew Union College; one of the grand officers of the B'nai B'rith and first judge of the Court of Appeals of that Order; one of the founders and a patron of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Albany; one of the founders, and for many years a trustee, of the Jewish Home Society of Albany (the last two named societies have been merged by a special act of the Legislature under the name of Albany Jewish Social Service); one of the founders, and a patron member, of the Jewish Publication Society of America; a director of the American Jewish Committee, and active in its councils when the late Louis Marshall was the president; one of the leaders in directing the distribution of Jewish immigrants in this country in the eighties and the nineties; a patron of, and contributor to, the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

He was in his ninety-fourth year when he entered into sleep eternal, but he was never an old man. Erect in carriage, scrupulously exact in his attire, keen and alert in conversation, with memory ever at command to recall incidents—personal, political or historical—and a sense of humor by which he was prone to give a touch of merriment even to somber situations, a gentleman whose friendship, hall marked by sincerity, had been enjoyed by three generations of my family—such will ever be my memory of him. I recall with pleasure our last meeting in 1935. It was at the Lake George home of our mutual friend, the late Mrs. Adolph S. Ochs, where the late George Foster Peabody and Miss Nannie Ochs were also present. Rosendale then told of events and experiences of long ago with his usual youthful vigor, and made manifest that he had kept abreast with the times and looked forward hopefully.

This humble, all too short and imperfect sketch does not do the subject justice. To appreciate the work of Simon W. Rosendale, the man, the judge and the militant Jew, one must have known him, a model of joyful and joy-giving life.

ISIDOR LEWI.

FELIX M. WARBURG.

Felix Warburg was born in Hamburg, Germany, on January 14, 1871, to Moritz and Charlotte Esther Oppenheim and was one of seven children. He died in the City of New York on October 20, 1937. He was educated at a classical gymnasium in Hamburg and, at the age of 16, went to Frankfurt, where his mother's parents lived. His grandfather was engaged in the sale of precious stones and this was Felix Warburg's first business. During this apprenticeship, which lasted six years, he not only acquired business experience but studied English, French and Italian.

In the summer of 1894 he met Frieda Schiff, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob H. Schiff, and in March, 1895, they were married in the City of New York. He was naturalized as an American citizen in the year 1900. In 1897 he entered the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co and was senior partner at the time of his death.

From the very beginning of his stay in New York he became interested in two institutions, the Educational Alliance and the Henry Street Settlement. In 1902 he was appointed Commissioner of the Board of Education of New York City and served in that capacity until 1905, interesting himself particularly in deficient children. He started probation work in the courts by sending a social worker of the Educational Alliance to follow up the cases of the little people who were brought before the courts. He was a Trustee of Teachers College at Columbia University, and through this became associated with the Horace Mann and Lincoln Schools. He was the moving spirit in the establishment of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York and remained in association with that organization as President, Chairman of the Board, and Chairman of the Executive

Committee. He was active head for a good many years of the Board of Trustees of the Graduate School for Jewish Social Work. In 1901 he became a Trustee of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He was interested in all of its departments, but was particularly concerned with the Teachers Institute, the Library, and was the real founder of the Museum.

When the War broke out and many different relief societies were started it was at his initiative that the Joint Distribution Committee was created and he presided over that until a few years ago. This Joint Distribution Committee is the largest work of one section of the Jewish world for another that is known in Jewish history. He was very active in the American Society for Jewish Farm Settlement in Russia and he visited that country in 1927. He was an active member of the American Jewish Committee and for the last ten years a member of its Executive Committee. He was Chairman of the Division of Fine Arts at Harvard University and was himself a collector of note, particularly of old Italian paintings, and of etchings and engravings.

The Young Men's Hebrew Association was one of his interests and he was President of the 92nd Street "Y" for quite some years. He was one of the founders of the Jewish Welfare Board and always active in that work.

He became greatly interested in Palestine, was a member of the Palestine Survey Commission, joined with Louis Marshall and others in the organization of the enlarged Jewish Agency in Zurich in 1929, was a member of the Palestine Economic Corporation, and a Governor of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He was interested in Palestinian archaeology, aided in the further excavations at Samaria which were begun through the interest of Jacob H. Schiff, and became a Trustee of the American School for Oriental Research.

He had a strong interest in music. He helped to build up musical organizations in New York and it was through him that the merger between the Institute of Musical Art and the

Juilliard Foundation was carried out. He was the founder of the Stradivarius Quartette. He also served as a Director of the American Museum of Natural History, and was a member of the Thomas Jefferson Centennial Commission, to which he was appointed by President Coolidge.

He became a member of the American Jewish Historical Society in 1900, and followed the work of our Society with keen interest. At the 34th annual meeting he read a Necrology of his friend, Arnold W. Brunner, which was printed in *Publications*, No. 31.

He was a man of great industry, infinite charm, loved outdoors, loved the sea and was a good sailor and yachtsman. He was internationally known not only as a banker and philanthropist, but as a lover of the fine arts. One of his last considerable gifts was to the National Gallery in London.

This is a scant outline of a useful and beautiful life ended all too soon.

CYRUS ADLER.

RABBI MARTIN ZIELONKA.

On the first day of this year 1938, Rabbi Martin Zielonka, after but a few days of illness, passed away. To his congregation, to the community of El Paso and to his many colleagues and friends the news came as a terrible shock, for there had intervened no preparatory evening of decreasing mental or physical vigor. Without a perceptible stumble or loss of stride he passed from life to life eternal.

He was born in Berlin, Germany, February 15, 1877, and was brought to the United States as a child of three years. His secular education was obtained in the schools of Cincinnati and the University of that city, from which latter institution he obtained his A. B. degree in 1899. He graduated in the same year, after an eight-year course, from the Hebrew Union College, in the class which was the last ordained by Isaac M. Wise. His active ministry was confined entirely to the Southwest, in fact to the state of Texas. For a year he was Rabbi in Waco, Texas, and then, for the rest of his life, the spiritual leader of Temple Mt. Sinai in El Paso. For 37 years he served that congregation, and gave to it the full measure of his vision and devotion. In the year 1927 he was elected by his congregation Rabbi for life.

In the 37 years of his long ministry in El Paso he was the leader in all good causes. He founded the Junior College which was later fused with the School of Mines, and also the Associated Charities. He was President, for a term, of the seventh district of B'nai B'rith, and was also largely instrumental in organizing the B'nai B'rith work in Mexico. In 1927 he read a very informative paper before the Central Conference of American Rabbis on the economic, cultural, and religious life of the Jews of Mexico.

When in the year 1930 Rabbi Zielonka's congregation celebrated the completion of 30 years of his ministry in El Paso, the following tribute was written by G. A. Martin, managing editor of the *Santa Barbara (Cal.) Morning Press*, and at one time managing editor of the *El Paso Herald*, ". . . Martin Zielonka never asked the religion of a man he labored with and he never asked the religion of a man or cause to which he gave his help. Boy Scouts, the Drive for the New Y. M. C. A. Building, the raising of funds for the Salvation Army Rescue Home, the organization and building of a home for the Associated Charities . . . all claimed his attention with equal enthusiasm and hard work. If there is anything of a deserving nature in El Paso during the past 30 years that Martin Zielonka has not aided, I cannot recall it."

Rabbi Zielonka's researches into the history of the Jews of Mexico occupied much of his leisure time for many years. The results of his studies were printed in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, one of them on the periodical *El Sabada* appearing in *Publications* No. 23, a second describing the career of Sam Dreben, the "Fighting Jew", in No. 31, and a third on the interesting life of Francisco Rivas in the present No. 35. His library consisting largely of Mexicana and of histories of the various South American Inquisitions was bequeathed by his heirs to the American Jewish Historical Society.

He delivered the baccalaureate sermon when his son David was ordained at the Hebrew Union College in 1929. It was a happy and proud day for him as he spoke to his son and his son's classmates of the calling to which they were giving themselves. He spoke to those young men of the ideals that had been his all his life: ". . . the Rabbi must stand forth as the finest example of manhood . . . character is essential . . . the men who are influencing Jewish thought and adjusting the ancient heritages to modern needs are not those most often in

the public press or who shout loudest". He lived long enough to see his son faithfully following those same high ideals.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Dora Schatzky Zielonka, who was a true helpmate throughout the 38 years of their marriage, and by his son, Rabbi David Zielonka, who is Rabbi in Tampa, Florida. His memory will long be cherished not only by them and by his brothers in Cincinnati but by a host of people, Jews and Gentiles, who knew him as a modest and earnest servant of God, yet ever courageous in the affirmation of his convictions as to truth and righteousness and the religious interpretations of Judaism. All who came in contact with him will long be influenced by his honesty of purpose, the spirituality of his teachings and the consecration of his whole life.

DAVID LEFKOWITZ.

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CONSTITUTION.

NAME.

I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

OBJECTS.

II. The objects shall be the collection, preservation, and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American Continent, and the promotion of the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent.

MEMBERS.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a patron of the Society by paying the sum of fifty dollars a year in fees; and transfers, on request, may be made from regular membership to the class of patrons. Patrons shall have all the rights and privileges of members.

Persons may be elected as honorary members and be exempt from the payment of fees; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

Persons approved by the Executive Council may be elected as corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

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Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact and of this provision, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society unless within one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrears or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society, which is hereby authorized on proper grounds to remit said dues.

OFFICERS.

IV. The officers shall be a President, four or more Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and an Executive Council, consisting of the foregoing officers and of twelve other members elected by the Society, with the ex-presidents of the Society. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Society. The additional members of the Executive Council shall be elected as provided in and by Section 3 of Article II of the By-Laws of the Society.

COUNCIL.

V. The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

AMENDMENTS.

VI. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

MEMBERS.

Section 1. The dues of members of the Society, including those elected between the 1st day of October and the 1st day of April in a fiscal year, shall be payable annually on the 1st day of October for said fiscal year in advance. Those joining as members between the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in a fiscal year shall at such time pay dues only for the current half-year, proportionately, and thereafter shall pay full yearly dues in advance on the 1st day of October in each year.

Section 2. The fiscal year shall extend and include from the 1st day of October to the 30th day of September next ensuing in each calendar year.

Section 3. The President and the Corresponding Secretary, whenever the Society or its Executive Council is not in session, shall have the power to act upon applications for membership in the Society.

Section 4. Members whose dues are more than one year in arrear on the 1st day of October, at the opening of a new fiscal year, shall not be entitled to receive such publications as the Society may thereafter issue until and unless such dues in arrears shall have been fully liquidated.

ARTICLE II.

OFFICERS, ETC.

Section 1. The term for which officers of the Society shall be chosen is one year and until their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified.

Section 2. Vacancies occurring in the term of any officer of the Society shall be filled by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof, for the remainder of said term.

Section 3. The term for which additional members of the Executive Council of the Society shall be chosen is three years and until

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their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified. At the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Society twelve additional members of the Executive Council shall be chosen, of whom four shall hold office as such for one year, four for two years, and four for three years, in accordance with the action of the Society at such annual meeting. The successors of each of said additional members of the Executive Council shall thereafter hold office as hereinbefore first provided.

Section 4. Vacancies occurring in the term of any additional member of the Executive Council of the Society shall be filled, until the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof. At the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, such vacancies shall be filled by election by the Society for the remainder of said original term.

Section 5. Officers of the Society and additional members of the Executive Council, who have served as such for at least twenty-five consecutive years, may be chosen honorary members of the Executive Council of the Society by vote of the members thereof at any stated meeting of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE III.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and the Executive Council, fix the time and place for holding the meetings of the latter, appoint members of all committees when not named in resolutions, fill vacancies therein, and add to the membership thereof when requested to do so by the chairmen thereof. He shall have a general supervision of the Society and be *ex officio* a member of all committees.

Section 2. In case of the death, resignation or inability of the President to perform his duties, his functions and powers shall devolve upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of seniority respectively. If the President and all the Vice-Presidents shall be absent from any meeting of the Society or its Executive Council, a chairman *pro tempore* shall be chosen for such meeting by the members present thereat.

Section 3. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the Seal, Charter, Constitution, By-Laws

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and records of the Society and certify or attest all instruments from the Society. He shall issue all notices of meetings, and notify all members of their election and of such other matters as may be directed by the Society, the Executive Council or the President. He shall receive, duly file and safely keep all papers, reports and documents, other than those appertaining to the Treasurer and the Curator, belonging to the Society, and at each meeting of the Society or the Executive Council report such letters and communications, as far as practicable, as he may have received since the time of his previous report. He shall distribute the minutes of meetings of the Executive Council among the members thereof within two weeks after each meeting has been held, and generally perform such other duties for the Society's business and development as may be necessary, proper and requisite.

Section 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep fair and accurate records of the minutes of each meeting of the Society and its Executive Council, and promptly transmit the same, after each has adjourned, to the Corresponding Secretary.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall receive, collect and hold subject to the order of the Executive Council all moneys, securities and other valuable papers of the Society, deposit all moneys in one or more banks or trust companies in the City of New York or elsewhere, approved by the Executive Council, pay all bills when the same are accompanied by vouchers drawn, signed and approved by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly, and render a financial report at each regular meeting of the Society and each meeting of the Executive Council. On the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in each fiscal year he shall send bills for unpaid dues to the members of the Society, and shall notify the Corresponding Secretary of all changes and terminations in the membership of the Society. He shall notify the Corresponding Secretary on the 1st days of March and November in each fiscal year of all the members who on such dates shall be in arrears for dues, and the amounts of such arrearages.

Section 6. The Curator, under the direction of the Executive Council, shall have charge and superintendence of the library and collections of the Society, and the care and arrangement of the books, manuscripts and other articles belonging to the Society. He shall cause to be prepared and kept to date a proper catalogue and list of the same, and shall acknowledge the receipt of accessions donated to the Society. He shall expend in the purchase of

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books and other articles, and for their safekeeping and preservation, such sums of money, with the approbation of the Executive Council or the President, as shall from time to time be appropriated for the purpose, and render proper vouchers therefor to the Executive Council. He shall make a full report, at each regular annual meeting of the Society, on the condition and progress of the library and the collections of the Society.

ARTICLE IV.

MEETINGS.

Section 1. There shall be held not less than two stated meetings of the Executive Council in each fiscal year. Written notice thereof shall be sent to each member of the Executive Council at least two weeks in advance thereof.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Executive Council shall be called upon the written request of at least five members thereof.

Section 3. Six members of the Executive Council shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 4. Fifteen members of the Society shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 5. Nothing herein contained shall operate to prevent the Society or its Executive Council from voting upon any proposition laid before either or both by mail.

ARTICLE V.

COMMITTEES.

Section 1. The following standing committees, namely: on publication, finance, and audit, shall be appointed by the President at the regular annual meeting of the Society, or within thirty days after the termination thereof, to hold office until their successors are appointed.

Section 2. The committee on publication shall consist of not less than three nor more than five members, who must be officers of the Society or additional members of its Executive Council. It shall have charge of preparing, editing and issuing the publications of the Society, and has the authority by delegation from the Executive Council to determine what papers shall be published.

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Section 3. The committee on finance shall consist of at least three members, of whom the Treasurer shall be one, all of whom shall be members of the Executive Council. It shall have charge of the investments of the Society, with full power to make or alter any such in its discretion, and shall supervise and foster the permanent fund of the Society. Investments of the funds of the Society shall be limited to such as are lawful for savings banks and trustees in the State of New York, pursuant to the laws thereof made and provided from time to time.

Section 4. The committee on audit shall consist of two members. Its duty shall be to audit and examine the Treasurer's accounts and the vouchers thereunto appertaining and to report the result of its examination to the President or the Executive Council.

Section 5. A special committee on local arrangements shall be appointed to consist of not less than three nor more than five members of the Society, preferably residing in the locality at which each annual meeting of the Society takes place. Its duty shall be to care for and supervise all the details of the local arrangements for such annual meeting, including the edifice in which the same shall be held.

Section 6. A special committee on nominations shall be appointed to consist of not less than two nor more than five members of the Society, and no candidate for office shall be debarred therefrom by reason of his membership of this committee. Its duty shall be to report a list of nominees as officers and additional members of the Executive Council of the Society for election at the annual meetings of the Society.

Section 7. The right to make additional nominations from the floor at the annual meetings of the Society on the part of any duly-qualified member thereof is not abridged in any way by the provisions of Section 6 hereof.

Section 8. A special committee on programme shall be appointed to consist of three members, of whom the Corresponding Secretary shall be one. Its duty shall be to prepare and suitably print and distribute the programme of each annual meeting of the Society. It shall endeavor to secure appropriate publicity therefor, and shall have the right to determine the fitness and availability of papers to be submitted at such annual meetings, and the determination of the time to be allotted to each for presentation thereat.

Section 9. Special committees shall be appointed by the President pursuant to resolution of the Society or its Executive Council.

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ARTICLE VI.

FUNDS.

Section 1. The permanent fund of the Society shall consist of the donations or bequests made to it, the payments received from members for life, and the interest and accumulations of the same. It shall not be drawn against except by and with the approval of the Executive Council by a formal vote to that end. The permanent fund shall be kept and used primarily to further research work in which the Society as such may be interested.

Section 2. The President shall have power at any time to authorize the payment of a sum or sums, not exceeding fifty dollars in the aggregate, in a single instance, out of the general fund of the Society, for the purpose of subventioning research work of any nature approved by him.

Section 3. The publication fund of the Society, as at present constituted, shall be employed so far as possible to defray the cost of the publications issued by the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

Section 4. The general fund of the Society shall be employed to defray the current running expenses of the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

ARTICLE VII.

SEAL.

Section 1. The seal of the Society shall consist of the following design: In the field a scroll on the face of which appear the words (in Hebrew), זכר ימות עולם, and on the circumference, American Jewish Historical Society.

ARTICLE VIII.

AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any annual meeting of the Society, notice of such amendment having been given in the printed programme of such meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

By-Laws.

Section 2. To entitle a proposed amendment to these by-laws to be included in the programme of an annual meeting of the Society, it must be formulated in writing, signed by not less than five members of the Society, communicated to the Corresponding Secretary not less than sixty days before the date of the annual meeting of the Society at which action thereon is contemplated, and notified to the members of the Society not less than ten days before the annual meeting thereof.

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¹ This list is corrected to Jan. 1939. Kindly notify the corresponding secretary of all errors and changes therein.

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